Universität Zürich[UZH]

From Animal to Arabesque
Reconsidering Geometric Surfaces in Islamic Revival Synagogues 1830-1906

Thesis
presented to the Faculty of Art History and Social Sciences
of the University of Zürich
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by
Riva Arnold

Accepted in the Spring Semester 2019
on the recommendation of the doctoral committee composed of
Prof. Dr. Francine Giese
Prof. Dr. Sonja Hildebrand
Prof. Dr. Christoph Uehlinger

Zürich, 2021

Abstract

Synagogue wall paintings were a cultural phenomenon which originated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Europe. While the synagogues from this period depicted unique formations of vegetal patterns and miraculous creatures, societal shifts would alter the continuation of Jewish folkloric motifs thus causing a breakdown in an ornamental tradition. A paradigm shift occurred in synagogue interiors from animal and flora motifs to Islamic patterns. Interest in Islamic art and architecture introduced architects to new methods for decorating architectural surfaces. Using an interdisciplinary approach, the organization of this thesis begins with pre-emancipation synagogue surfaces in Eastern and Central Europe in Chapter One, where ornament forms and motifs were inspired by nature and Jewish mysticism. In Chapter Two, the focus then shifts to the development of art history by Franz Kugler and Carl Schnaase and early texts on Islamic architecture and ornament. Published between the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by British, French and German architects these publications increased the development of European architectural knowledge of the East. Chapter Three examines the development of Islamic ornament in nineteenth century synagogues in Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the United States. This includes The Rumbach Synagogue in Budapest, The Spanish Synagogue and Jerusalem Synagogue in Prague, The Plum Street Temple in Ohio, and Central Synagogue in New York. In 1838-1840 with the construction of the Dresden synagogue, Gottfried Semper was the first to incorporate geometric and polychrome patterns that would become a key characteristic within synagogue interiors throughout the nineteenth century. Chapter Four extends the topic to new ornamental forms in early Palestine and the revitalization of Jewish artisans and ornament in the early twentieth century. This study explores a significant historical and cultural phenomenon in synagogue and ornament history and considers several sites that were transculturally linked through an ornamental adaptation.

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Francine Giese and Prof. Dr. Sonja Hildebrand for being kind and supportive supervisors. The completion of this research would not have come to fruition without their direction and foresight. My work has greatly benefited from the generosity of additional experts since I began this research in 2014. A special thanks to Dr. Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, Dr. Rudolf Klein, Dr. Vladimir Levin, Batsheva-Ida Huberman, Prof. Ilia Rodov, William Gross, Arno Pařík, Warren Klein, Michael Helfield and Andrea Rapp. Additionally, I would be remiss not to mention the administrators, curators, archivists, and librarians who helped in locating information and providing translation assistance, this includes, The National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, the Department of Jewish Art at Hebrew University, The National Art Library, London, The Jewish Museum and Archives in Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Dresden Jewish Community, The Prague City Archives, The Jewish Museum in Prague, the United States Holocaust Museum, Washington, D.C, Bernard Museum of Judaica, Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York, Thomas J. Watson Library, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. I would also like to acknowledge additional colleagues and friends who were there for thought-provoking conversations throughout this process, Stephanie Gruber Bachmann, Maja Markowitz, Anita Sganzerla, and Robert Wellington. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their continual support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction

An old black-and-white photograph of the Przedbórz Synagogue in Poland during the mid-eighteenth century shows a ceiling in the community meeting room. The walls are painted with ornamental motifs of swirls and curls modeled from elements in nature, creating a canopy of Jewish symbolism. One ceiling plank reads: "This is the work of the hand of an old man, who spent all his days laboring on holy work: Jacob Yehuda Lev, son of Reb Isaac."[1] It may be impossible to know who Jacob Yehuda Lev was, yet the inscription for a brief moment provides us with the authorship of some of the most elaborately painted interiors in Eastern Europe, interiors that were once commonplace but that are now no longer in existence. Historically, synagogues have been decorated with mosaics and paintings since the seventh century in Israel and the Mediterranean region according to the earliest archeological evidence we have.[2] Even from the mid-sixteenth century to the eighteenth century painted synagogues like the one painted by Jacob Yehuda Lev were common throughout Eastern Europe. In the sixteenth century in Poland and in other Eastern European locations, synagogues were painted with polychrome ornaments and decorations. Documentary evidence of this phenomenon exists in the form of watercolors by Alois Breyer (1885–1948), an architectural student at the Vienna University of Technology. He traveled to Eastern Europe in 1910 to photograph wooden synagogues and their painted interiors.[3] His watercolors depict the exteriors and the decorated interiors, and they are currently in the collection of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. These polychrome ornamented interiors lay the foundations for the current research on painted synagogue surfaces.

It is important to note that at this time the *Haskalah* movement, or the Jewish Enlightenment, was in the process of progressing. The intellectual, educational, and spiritual shift that occurred in Europe began in the late eighteenth century in Prussia. It was rooted in

[1] Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's Gate: Wooden Synagogues in the Territory of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Warsaw: Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2004), 322.
[2] Steven Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Arno Pařík, *Baroque Synagogues in the Czech Lands* (Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague, 2011), 7.
[3] Alois Breyer, *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (Vienna: 1934); Thomas Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2003); Batsheva Goldman-Ida, *Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella: Wooden Synagogues* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2014).

an internal struggle between traditional religious beliefs and modernity.[4] Jewish communities underwent a cultural crisis because of communal division and the decline of rabbinical authority.[5] While the *Haskalah* movement welcomed modernity, it did not support assimilation. The hope among Jews was to enter mainstream society as equals. Adopting a new national and secular identity in the nineteenth century afforded them the opportunity to represent themselves and their Jewishness in a new way, and the fabric of Jewish life changed along with the adjustments to modern life. Throughout Europe, Jews were given civil freedoms by the early nineteenth century, and after the revolutions of 1848 they had more socioeconomic autonomy than they had before.[6] With these new social freedoms, Jewish communities moved from the ghettos or the edges of towns to city centers and gradually became more engaged with the communities around them. In many cases, the geographic locations of synagogues before emancipation were not always noticeable from the outside. For the first time, synagogues built during this period moved from being in the private domain of their communities to being more publicly visible.[7] New architectural features included minarets and domes, and synagogues became monumental houses of worship that represented a complex web of changing social and aesthetic factors.[8] Furthermore, not only did the exterior architecture change but so did the interior. This was first observed in Dresden upon completion in 1840 when the German architect Gottfried Semper designed a new synagogue for the Jewish community. It was the first example to represent the Jewish community's new architectural identity but more importantly an interior design with Islamic ornament. Therefore, it is conceivable that following Semper's example, synagogues across Europe began to incorporate Islamic geometric and vegetal motifs**.**

One of the main characteristics of Islamic ornament is its repetitive subdivision of shapes, interlaced designs, and abstracted spiraling plant forms, creating linear movement.

---

[4] Marie Schumacher-Brunhes, "Enlightenment Jewish Style: The Haskalah Movement in Europe," in *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schumacherbrunhesm-2010-en.

[5] Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment* (Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History, 2002), 3.

[6] Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770–1870* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989); Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848–1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 35–54, 123; Israel Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772–1881* (Pennsylvania: University Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Mike Rappaport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (New York: Perseus Book Group, 2005), 170–175. See Rudolf Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary 1782–1918* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017). Klein states: "For Jews, economically it allowed them free movement and trade, while spiritually it offered a certain degree of cosmopolitism" (15).

[7] John Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 113.

[8] Efron, *German Jewry*, 112.

Islamic vegetal ornament is inspired by a wide variety of geographies and historic influences that include several decades of Middle Eastern, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine forms.[9] A transformation of synagogue interiors will be explored by carefully analyzing and comparing two unique decorative styles that appeared within an 80-year period. The impact of geometry and vegetal motifs was retranslated into the synagogue space, and, as its title suggests, this dissertation will recount a narrative of the ornamental change that occurred in synagogue wall paintings from one decorative form to another. Interest in the East was a European fascination. Islamic motifs and ornament were translated and reused and found in several European cities located in Hungary, the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and England in architecture, painting, and the decorative arts.[10] The influence of Islamic art had a strong effect in Europe and the United States (although comparatively the influence was greater in Europe). Firsthand accounts of the East by architects, artists, and writers illuminated the region, as their travel diaries revealed.[11] These travel descriptions, which captured the imagination of the public, created a widespread cultural fascination with the Orient. The visual and literary representation of the East contributed to the evidence that the Orient encompassed many novel ideas and artistic innovations, and that it spurred a growing interest among Europeans in ethnology, geography, and architecture.[12]

---

[9] Dominique Clévenot and Gérard Degeorge, *Splendors of Islam: Architecture, Decoration, and Design* (New York: Vendome Press, 2000), 135. For a detailed overview of all Islamic periods of ornament and their historic development, see Jay Bonner, "The Historical Antecedents, Initial Development, Maturity, and Dissemination of Islamic Geometric Patterns," in *Islamic Geometric Patterns: Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction* (New York: Springer, 2017), 1–150.

[10] Myriam Bacha, "Tourisme et patrimoine dans la Tunisie précoloniale et coloniale : interactions et dépendances," in *Le tourisme dans l'empire français : Politiques, pratiques et imaginaires (XIXe–XXe siècles)*, ed. Colette Zytnicki et Habib Kazdaghli (Paris: Publications de la Société française d'histoire d'outre-mer, 2009), 155–163; David Weir, *American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era through the Twentieth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); Stefan Koppelkamm, *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2015); Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Brage, eds., *The Myth of the Orient: Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016), 11; Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, eds., *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018).

[11] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, reprint ed. (London: Virago Press, 1996); Nancy Micklewright, *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2017); Pallavi Pandit Laisram, *Viewing the Islamic Orient: British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century*; Mary Henes and Brian H. Murray, *Travel Writing, Visual Culture and Form, 1760–1900* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). According to Henes and Murray, "British leisure travel writing to the Mediterranean's were one of the mainstays of Victorian publishing. The press plied the Victorian public with titles which included *Sketches, Notes, Diaries, Gleanings, Glimpses, Impressions, Pictures, Narratives, Tours, Visits, Wanderings, Residences and Travels*" (1).

[12] *The Thousand and One Nights or Tales of the Arabian Nights* was one of the most significant literary and commercialized publications of the Orient. See also Yaron Peleg, *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005),
14.

Through a select group of significant and visually extraordinary case studies, the aim here is to highlight the complexity of decorative forms and their interconnectedness through their ornamental patterns. The research focuses on the decorative change that transpired on the interiors of synagogues and their painted surfaces in Europe and the United States from the pre-emancipation period to the post-emancipation period, and on the simultaneous social shifts in the Jewish communities there. The research presented here posits that the transformation that existed within synagogue decoration located in Budapest, Prague, and the German immigrant communities in the United States, specifically Ohio and New York, during the nineteenth century embraced Islamic ornament. The aestheticization of Islamic ornament became a rich source of inspiration among European and American architects. It was found on the façades and interiors of synagogues, and those who entered were enveloped by illuminated multicolored ornamented surfaces.

Clarification of Terms

A variety of terms have been used to define and illustrate the decorative and architectural hybridization of synagogues from the nineteenth century. This includes "Oriental," "Arabian," and "Moorish" sometimes hyphenated with "Byzantine."[13] Additional terminology includes "neo-Islamic" and "neo-Moorish." Synagogue architecture and ornament were not connected to just one stylistic category; buildings were diverse and could include designs symbolizing an "Oriental" past.[14] The adoption by synagogues of new ornamental forms has created a complex web of art historical terminologies. For example, Hannelore Künzl's *Islamische Stilelemente in den Synagogen des 19. und Frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* employs the term "neo-Islamic" when describing synagogues in Europe and North America. Künzl states that "Moorish" is too vague and that the Mudéjar style is a mix of Christian and Islamic styles. Therefore, she elaborates that "Moorish" should be used with restraint while "neo-Islamic" should be used more generally, as it is more useful.[15] Similarly,

[13] Ivan David Kalmar, "Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews and Synagogue Architecture," *Jewish Social Studies* 7, no. 3 (2001): 68–100, 69.
[14] Efron, *German Jewry*, 127–129, 131.
[15] "In der Literatur wird dieser Mischstil oft als 'maurisch' bezeichnet, doch wird dieser Begriff nicht selten sehr vage und unpräzise benutzt. Spätestens seit Ernst Kuehel filt der Terminus 'maurisch' als Oberbegriff für die islamische Kunst in Spanien und Nordafrika. Er beinhaltet in Spanien die Kunst von der frühsten Zeit, also von der Moschee zu Cordoba his zum Fall von Granada 1492, wopei im Allgemeinen auch der Mudejar-Stil, ein christlich-islamischer Mischstil in diese Kategorie miteinbezogen wird. In Bezug auf den Islamisch-Einfluss des 19. Jahrhunderts ist der Begriff 'maurisch' mit Vorsicht zu verwenden, da erst eine nähere Analyse zeigen wird, ob tatsächlich nur Elemente der Maurischen Kunst ein fließen. Da speziellere Termini im deutschen Sprachgenrauch nicht üblich sind die Spanier sprechen zum Beispiel von Neo-Mudejar- erscheint der Begriff

Olga Bush also uses "neo-Islamic." In her article, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity," Bush references Central Synagogue in New York. She states that "both the interior and the exterior of the building reflect a hybrid character that fuses western medieval decorative features such as tracery windows with stained glass."[16] The neo-Islamic style in this context points to a new stylistic interpretation and a new identity merging an Orientalizing mix with a medieval historical style not only found in Europe but in the United States as well.

The term "Oriental-style" is applied by Rudolf Klein in his expansive discussion on Austrian-Hungarian synagogues. He defines "Oriental" by the variety of decorative expressions and combinations of styles.[17] The synagogues within Austria and Hungary incorporated a variety of ornamental interpretation. Klein, by providing us with the term "Oriental-style," moves away from focusing on Moorish ornament to a more expansive and broader framework that includes Ottoman, Indian, and Orientalized Byzantine elements that are incorporated into synagogue interior compositions. Klein's terminology removes any narrow "cultural paradigm," avoiding terms such as "Moorish" or "neo-Moresque."[18] Current synagogue researchers prefer the term "Oriental-style," since the ornamental and architectural forms are a blend of influences and cannot be attributed to one specific style. Decoration is vital within the Islamic arts; therefore, the aesthetic characteristics of Islamic ornament can include all the above-mentioned places and a variety of geometric, arabesque motifs and stylized Arabic scripts. In Carol Krinsky's book *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*, she attempts to answer how European Jews contended with difficult social circumstances and how architecture ultimately provided a way of expression and identity. Krinsky begins with Antiquity and discusses the emergence of Islamic influences and incorporates the terms "Islamic style" or Moorish style" in the nineteenth century with general architectural references from Solomon's Temple to the Alhambra.[19]

The new synagogues of the nineteenth century were a hybrid of revival styles moving them away from the past. Design-wise, they did not copy the synagogues from medieval Muslim Spain or the synagogues found in the Near East, but reimagined a new category of

---

'neo-islamisch' als Oberbegriff sinnvoll." Hannelore Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogen des 19. und Frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (1984), 9-10.

[16] Olga Bush, 'The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 63 No. 2, June., 2004, 186.

[17] Rudolf Klein, "Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary: Philosophy and Historical Significance," *Ars Judaica* 2, no. 1 (2006): 117–134.

[18] Klein, "Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary," 117.

[19] Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1986), 81–85.

architecture.[20] Other historical styles were also given a revivalist treatment for example, Gothic and "Egyptian became Gothic revival and Egyptian revival.[21] Islamic revival identifies the eclectic nature and interpretation that was created by architects for modern Jewish communities of Europe. This term includes all centuries of Islamic ornament that provided synagogues with a new outlet for aesthetic representation. Islamic revival was also introduced as a phase within nineteenth-century Cairene architecture as introduced by architects Julius Franz and Carl von Diebitsch.[22] Similar to neo-Islamic, Islamic revival broadly communicates the range of historical forms found across Islamic periods and incorporated into synagogue interior wall compositions. Within the synagogue case studies, there is an articulation of historical elements from different Islamic architectures and surfaces, creating an eclectic use of decorative vocabulary. Islamic revival is used here because Islamic geometric forms and arabesques are revitalized within the synagogue interiors. The regeneration of Islamic forms and geometric compositions removed from their original sources eliminates any symbolic or religious connotation. Islamic ornament used in synagogues reused various motifs and flat patterns, emphasizing a new decorative identity.

Geographic Scope

Three geographic areas are explored in this research—Europe, the United States, and Israel. The criteria for selecting these areas stems from their relative geographic and socio-cultural proximity and their shared connection to Jewish emancipation, migration, architecture, and ornament. Additionally, travel and early-nineteenth-century publications about Islamic architecture and ornament were available in French, German, and English, and were shared among designers and architects. European Jews (specifically German-speaking Jews) migrated to the United States throughout the better part of the nineteenth century, and two of the largest synagogues in the country were to be found in the communities in Cincinnati, Ohio, and New York City, further expanding on this decorative trend.

---

[20] Efron, *German Jewry*, 131; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 84.
[21] Scott Trafton, *Egypt Land: Race and Nineteenth-Century American Egyptomania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 142.
[22] Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga, eds., *À l'orientale: Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 213. Additionally, a more recent definition of Islamic revival focuses on the political and social Islamic ideals in the modern world and the rejection of Western influence. See Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 444–460; and Z. Fareen Parvez, *Politicizing Islam: The Islamic Revival in France and India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Beginning with a foundation of Jewish decoration found in case studies from the Czech Republic and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries, this area of Europe included thousands of synagogues with original decoration prior to the Jews' gaining of social freedoms and relocation to other European capitals.[23] German-Jewish communities were the first to erect synagogues with Islamic motifs, followed by other European communities, including many in Austria, Hungary, and the Czech Republic**.** Following an increase in migration toward the middle of the nineteenth century, many North American Jewish communities became the inheritors of the relatively new tradition of using Islamic motifs similar to the synagogues in Europe. The third geographic part of this research is Israel, specifically during the early development of Palestine under Ottoman rule. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, many European Jews migrated to Palestine and a new style of ornament and decoration would emerge there. These ornamental forms and decorative objects fused Eastern and Western influences while representing a revival of Jewish art and craft. This, initiated a second transformation within Jewish art, which fused Islamic and Jewish decorative influences into a new hybrid style.

State of the Literature

This study draws from multiple disciplines including, but not limited to, architecture, Islamic and Jewish ornament, and social history. Within these fields, of course, there are several ancillary subjects, from architectural construction to Jewish identity. There are many sources that can help us understand the significant shift in synagogue ornament during the nineteenth century, and there is no one single text or series of texts that addresses all of the relevant issues pertaining to this phenomenon.[24] The primary motivation is to understand the social, political, intellectual, and artistic factors that contributed to the reasons for the break in

[23] See the Center for Jewish Art's digital research project of mapping historic synagogues for all the Jewish communities in Europe: https://cja.huji.ac.il/synagogue-map.

[24] The material presented at the conferences listed here helped me come up with and develop my dissertation topic: Ornament as Portable Culture: Between Globalism and Localism, April 12–14, 2012, Harvard University; The Production of Ornament: Reassessing the Decorative in History and Practice, University of Leeds, March 21–22, 2014; International Workshop on Synagogue Wall Paintings: Research, Preservation, Presentation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, September 13–14, 2016; *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Context*, University of Zurich, September 15–17, 2016; and *The Art of Ornament: Meanings, Archetypes, Forms and Uses*, International Conference, November 23–25, 2017, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

ornamental design, which created nothing less than a paradigm shift from animal and floral motifs to the inclusion of Islamic patterns.

Synagogue literature over the last sixty years has explored many facets of the development of architecture and design. Several publications could be considered the "forefathers" of synagogue literature and therefore cannot be overlooked. These studies are noteworthy for their contribution to the field of synagogue research. The most comprehensive publications to date regarding an overview of synagogue architecture history include scholarship by Rachel Wischnitzer, Hannelore Künzl, and Carol Krinsky. Wischnitzer, a pioneer within the field of Jewish art history and synagogue architecture, published *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation* (1955) and *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (1964), which provided the first comprehensive analyses of synagogue architecture in Europe and the United States. The main objective of the latter book is to provide a historical overview of ancient synagogues from the Roman period to the modern era, more specifically the 1950s and 1960s. Hannelore Künzl's dissertation, *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogenbau des 19 und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (1984), was the first in-depth study to examine synagogues in Europe and North America, and it focused in particular on the Islamic architectural style. Künzl's dissertation also begins an investigation of synagogue architecture from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The basis for her work is Rachel Wischnitzer's *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* and Harold Hammer-Schenk's *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, 1780–1933*. Künzl explains that the influence of Islamic styles was first found in Germany but that this phenomenon was by no means limited to Germany.[25] She focuses primarily on the architecture construction, the domes, and the façades, and less on ornament and painted surfaces. Künzl also points out the obvious challenges for this subject, stating that there is a general shortage of available materials, due to the extensive damage caused to synagogues in 1938. Finally, Carol Krinsky's *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (1986) is a thorough overview of all European synagogues. This includes synagogues from Poland, the former USSR, Spain, Italy, France, the Balkans, and the United Kingdom. Like Wischnitzer, Krinsky further develops an understanding of the synagogue by dividing her text into two parts. The first part provides a general understanding of synagogue furnishings and architectural space, as well as social histories regarding some of the

[25] Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente*, 2.

challenges involved in building a synagogue, while the second part offers short accounts of individual synagogues. Here Krinsky also underscores the unfortunate fact that many documents regarding synagogues have disappeared or been destroyed, something that has created gaps within the research. Krinsky's extensive survey of synagogues is noteworthy and yet does not extensively document the topic of interior decoration.

Pre-Emancipation Synagogue Literature

In the first chapter, attention is paid to pre-emancipation synagogues from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Pre-emancipation synagogues and Jewish decoration generated a historical and cultural phenomenon that spread throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The designs found in these synagogues were created at a time when Jewish communities lived under certain restrictions. The research produced by Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues* (1959), is one of the more important publications on synagogues from Eastern Europe, considering that virtually all traces of these wooden synagogues are now lost. Specifically, this publication is vital in the documentation of synagogue architecture and, more importantly, in that it elaborates on their polychrome interior decoration.[26] Thomas Hubka's *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (2015) further emphasizes the relevancy of synagogues from the pre-emancipation period. Hubka's text focuses specifically on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and adopts a multidisciplinary framework. Noteworthy in this regard is his analysis of the now nonexistent Gwoździec Synagogue, which is important for understanding the ornamental and iconographic forms on synagogue wall paintings during this period.

In addition, this chapter also discusses Jewish ornament from a broader perspective and relies on the publication of Ida Huberman's *Living Symbols* (1988), which presents an in-depth explanation of animal forms and Jewish symbolism and meaning within the visual arts. According to Huberman, animal decoration—and animal motifs—was representative of the natural world, which symbolized wisdom, protection, and the imitation of a divine feeling while creating a menagerie of creatures.[27] Additionally, Ilia Rodov, a scholar of Jewish and synagogue art from Bar-Ilan University, elaborates on the folkloric roots of synagogue

[26] This work was republished in 2004 as Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's Gate: Wooden Synagogues in the Territory of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Warsaw: Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2004).
[27] Ida Huberman, *Livings Symbols* (Tel Aviv: Masada Publishing, 1988), 26.

paintings in the pre-emancipation period, which included animal forms and vegetal ornament.[28] This visual dimension of Jewish art and architecture is essential to understanding the root of the shift featured in pre-emancipation synagogues. Together, these publications on wooden synagogues and Jewish ornament inform our understanding of Jewish craftsmen and the kinds of motifs that were featured in Jewish sacred spaces.

Art Historiographical Literature

The second chapter presents an art historiographical contextualization of Islamic art in the early nineteenth century, specifically in German-speaking countries. Since the majority of case studies selected were designed by architects who were educated in Vienna or Berlin, it is worth noting which texts were circulated and what European knowledge was of the Orient in the 1840s. Two key publications, Franz Theodor Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842) and Carl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten* (1844), served as the foundation for future publications on global art history. Kugler's and Schnaase's writings are representative of the academic material that circulated throughout Germany. The world art surveys of the nineteenth century, as introduced by these two authors, indicated an artificial knowledge of Islamic art and architecture; however, these texts offered the first assessment of global art in general and Islamic art in particular. Secondary literature includes Henrik Karge and his analysis of Kugler and Schnaase, which provides us with an understanding of both aesthetics and art history in nineteenth-century Germany. In his essay "Franz Kugler und Karl Schnaase: Zwei Projekte zur Etablierung der 'Allgemeinen Kunstgeschichte,'" Henrik Karge explains their methodological differences with a brief overview to articulate the foundation of art history according to Kugler and Schnaase. While Kugler presented a succinct explanation and Schnaase offered a multi-volume survey, both were the first to interpret the history of art as a discipline.[29] In his article, "Origins of the Art History Survey" (1995), Mitchell Schwarzer analyzes early art history and his analysis

[28] Ilia Rodov, "The Marvelous Garden: On the Poetics of Vegetal Ornamentation in European Synagogues and Its Origins," in *Timorah: Articles on Jewish Art* (Ramat Gan: Faculty of Jewish Studies, Bar-Ilan University, 2006), 111–132; Ilia Rodov, "What Is 'Folk' about Synagogue Art?" *Images* 9 (2016): 1–15; George K. Lukomski, "The Wooden Synagogues of Eastern Europe," *Burlington Magazine* 66 (1935): 14–21; Vivian B. Mann, ed., *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Goldman-Ida, *Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella*.

[29] Henrik Karge, "Franz Kugler und Karl Schnaase zwei Projekte zur Etablierung der 'Allgemeinen Kunstgeschichte, '" in *Franz Theodor Kugler: Deutscher Kunsthistoriker und Berliner Dichter*, ed. Michel Espagne, Bénédicte Savoy, and Céline Trautmann-Waller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010).

reveals how this subject became part of the university curriculum in Germany during the 1840s.[30]

Annette Hagedorn's chapter, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850–1950" (2000), provides a general overview of Islamic art in German-speaking countries. However, Hagedorn omits key German Orientalist scholars such as Ignác Goldziher and Theodor Nöldeke.[31] A similar theme has also been explored in Suzanne Marchand's *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship* (2009), which offers an important perspective when it comes to contextualizing Germany in relation to Orientalism, since German scholarship was a pioneering force in Oriental studies from 1830 to 1930.[32] *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe* (2013), edited by James Hodkinson, expands on the traditional debate on Orientalism and includes examples of Central and Eastern European scholarship, and juxtaposes them with the Western European Orientalist framework. Hodkinson's publication offers a critical examination of influences from the East, which covers multiple geographies including Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Czech Republic. However, this text places an emphasis on travel writing and does not include the history of art or architecture. In short, the literature pertaining to Islamic art in German-speaking countries strongly suggests that scholarly interest in the Islamic world emerged in the nineteenth century. Compared to publications in Britain and France, the literature is sparse, but it is nonetheless significant. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Islamic art and its research gained a new appreciation in German academic art history institutes.

Post-Emancipation Synagogue Literature

The third chapter considers case studies in Europe and the United States, specifically Budapest, Prague, and the German-speaking communities in New York and Cincinnati, thus

[30] Mitchell Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," *Art Journal* 54, no. 3 (1995): 24–29, 24; Henrik Karge, "Projecting the Future in German Art Historiography of the Nineteenth Century: Franz Kugler, Karl Schnaase, and Gottfried Semper," *Journal of Art Historiography* 9 (2013): 1–26; James Hodkinson and John Walker, eds. *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013).

[31] Annette Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850–1950*, ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000).

[32] Susan Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race and Scholarship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 53–84, 333–429.

offering a detailed analysis of ornament forms and the architects who used them in their designs during the post-emancipation period. Regarding the literature, there are several publications discussing post-emancipation synagogues that concentrate on national and local architecture development.[33] Ines Müller's *Die Otto Wagner-Synagoge in Budapest* (1992) is the first publication on the Rumbach Synagogue to explain the history of the building and describe the local Jewish community. Müller situates the Rumbach Synagogue within the context of the Alhambra as a global influence and also focuses on its architect, Otto Wagner. Rudolf Klein's publication, *Synagogues in Hungary 1782–1918* (2017), is the most comprehensive study to date on synagogues in Hungary. Klein presents architectural examples in a chronological order with particular attention on synagogues consecrated through the end of World War II. His publication presents several hundred synagogues and formulates a template of eight criteria for architectural typology. Klein's architectural types include peasant cottage, burgher house, Protestant church, Solomon's Temple, factory hall, Catholic church, Byzantine, and palace. In Klein's proposed comprehensive typology, he considers the flourishing synagogue architecture from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century in Hungary.[34] However, Klein's publication only covers Hungary, whereas the research presented in the study includes case studies in several countries.

Concerning the synagogues in Prague, primary archival information is limited. However, the scholarly contributions made by Arno Pařík and an in-depth article by Ivan David Kalmar provide particular insight into the social history and architectural significance of the Spanish and Jerusalem synagogues.[35] Kalmar's publication on the Spanish synagogue is the only comprehensive history on this building, which is an important Prague landmark. Arno Pařík, Curator of the Jewish Museum in Prague, has published several small articles on the synagogues in Prague. Publications from the exhibitions at the Jewish Museum in Prague draw attention to synagogues from the second half of the nineteenth century and show evidence of the Jewish communities of Bohemia and Moravia.

---

[33] In addition, the following publications are significant because they informed my decision to include synagogues in Europe and North America in my investigation, and aided me in the selection of the case studies: Dominique Jarassé's *Synagogues: Architecture and the Jewish Identity* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001); Ron Epstein's *Die Synagogen der Schweiz* (Zurich: Chronos, 2008); Sharman Kadish's *The Synagogues of Britain and Ireland: An Architectural & Social History* (London: Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, 2011); and Saskia Coenen Snyder's *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[34] Klein, *Synagogues of Hungary*, 139–155.

[35] Ivan Kalmar, "The Origins of the 'Spanish Synagogue' of Prague," *Judaica Bohemiae* 35, no. 1 (2000), 158–209; Arno Pařík, *Prague Synagogues* (Prague: The Jewish Museum, 2011); Arno Pařík, ed. *Symbols of Emancipation: Nineteenth-Century Synagogues in the Czech Lands* (Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague, 2013).

Regarding North American synagogues, several notable publications deal with American synagogue history and scholarship.[36] Rachel Wischnitzer's publication on American synagogues was first printed in 1955; she begins her analysis from the early seventeenth century. *Synagogue Architecture* was the first comprehensive attempt to explain synagogue architecture in the United States. Wischnitzer highlights synagogues built as early as the colonial period and as late as the 1950s, including notable modern architecture examples and designs by American renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Olga Bush, Samuel Gruber, and Henry Soltzman have also published substantial material on synagogues in North America. Contributions from Soltzman and Gruber highlight the cultural importance of American synagogues and the many changes that new immigrants had to make while adapting to a new country and building new places of worship. Both scholars provide a compact text for each synagogue entry, and together these two publications present American synagogue architecture and the most important elements regarding the construction and development of local Jewish communities. These publications distinguish how the American experience of becoming a new Jewish immigrant was different from the experience living in Europe. Although Jewish immigrants started arriving in America in the 1820s, by the second half of the nineteenth century an influx of German Jews arrived and incorporated new traditions into community life. The synagogues built and supported by these Jews maintained the architecture of the Islamic revival style, further replicating a variety of motifs including arabesques, rosettes, and polygons. This phenomenon is explained clearly in an article by Olga Bush, who focuses on the Central Synagogue in New York.[37] In her essay, Bush highlights the social and architectural reasons why the Islamic revival style was embraced by the new German-Jewish immigrants to the United States.

Ornament Literature

The contributions by Oleg Grabar in *The Mediation of Ornament* (1995) and Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu's publication *Histories of Ornament from Global to Local* (2016) cover ornament's global artistic traditions. Grabar's approach to Islamic ornament emphasizes its universal and historic importance. Examples of Islamic ornament, as found in a variety of

[36] Samuel Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003); Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955); Henry Soltzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America: Faith, Spirit and Identity* (Melbourne: Images Publishing Group, 2004); Bush, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity."

[37] Bush, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity," 180–201.

materials, such as stucco and bronze, create a theoretical context where ornament is an intermediary and can generate a relationship with the viewer.[38] In Grabar's publication, the chapters on geometry and nature will serve as a starting point for my examination of synagogue ornament from the pre-emancipation period, which includes flora and fauna motifs, to synagogue ornament from the post-emancipation period, which embraces Islamic patterns. Grabar's analysis of natural motifs will ground this discussion of iconography and ornament and of the abstraction of nature and geometry when considering Islamic ornament. Therefore, his contribution is vital to understanding two contrasting but equally vital styles of ornament when it comes to synagogue wall paintings. Payne and Necipoğlu's edited volume includes over twenty essays, which encompass ornament from different geographies (including the eastern Mediterranean region, France, Italy, and Mexico) and art historical traditions. Their publication's objective is not to limit the definition of ornament but to address its many characterizations and to emphasize the visual complexity and communicative nature of ornament. *Histories of Ornament* is organized thematically and contains important contributions by Gerhard Wolf, Finbarr Barry Flood, Maria Judith Feliciano, and Rémi Labrusse. The themes that arise throughout each article include ornament and its migration, mobility and exploration of surfaces, form, and historical contexts. Gerhard Wolf's essay, "Vesting Walls, Displaying Structure, Crossing Cultures: Transmedial and Transmaterial Dynamics of Ornament," and his discussion on wall surfaces explore the relationship between nature and ornament in connection to their physical quality. Finbarr Barry Flood's essay, "The Flaw in the Carpet: Disjunctive Continuities and Riegl's Arabesque," examines Riegl's effort to understand the complex transformative nature of vegetal ornament. Within this essay, Flood surveys ornamental examples from the painted floors in the Umayyad palace of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in northern Syria, to the stucco dado panels found in Iraq. Flood also observes that the arabesque motif, regardless of its origin, represents a continual development beginning with the various early motifs found in antiquity.[39] Maria Judith Feliciano's contribution examines the aesthetic application of

[38] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 3.
[39] Finbarr Barry Flood, "The Flaw in the Carpet: Disjunctive Continuities and Riegl's Arabesque," in *Histories of Ornament from Global to Local*, ed. Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 82–93; Gerhard Wolf, "Vesting Walls, Displaying Structure, Crossing Cultures: Transmedial and Transmaterial Dynamics of Ornament," in *Histories of Ornament from Global to Local*, ed. Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 96–105.

Mudejar ornament in case studies located in colonial Mexico.[40] Rémi Labrusse's chapter analyzes the many grammars of ornament, beginning with British designer Owen Jones and his influential *Grammar of Ornament* from 1856 and continuing on to artists like Henri Matisse and Paul Klee in the twentieth century, who were interested in the question of decorativeness and ornament in painting. In many of these contributions, Islamic ornament is at the center of scholarly investigation, and although these articles are not related to synagogues, they foster international artistic exchanges between art and ornament, and thus establish a starting point for how painted wall surfaces in synagogues might be considered in a wider transnational context.

The construction of surface patterns and the overlapping qualities of architectural surfaces lend themselves to the use of textile terminology. For instance, to describe the wall surfaces in synagogues, terms such as "carpet-like" or "lace pattern" and "textile-like" are often used when describing the articulation of ornament.[41] Textile studies and publications will be a point of departure for examining painted walls with arabesques and geometric motifs. *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250* (2003), edited by Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, compares early textile patterns and wall paintings found in Uzbekistan.[42] In addition, Cynthia Robinson's essay "Marginal Ornament; Poetics, Miming and Devotion in the Palace of Lions," in *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar* (2009), examines the pattern forms of the Palace of Lions, and notes their prominent likeness to silk patterns found in Nasrid workshops on in Muslim Spain.[43] Furthermore, the article by Lisa Golombek in the collection, "The Draped Universe of Islam," presents the importance of Islamic textiles in Islamic societies. Golombek highlights the material aspect of textiles and imagery and spaces draped in various fabrics, whether

[40] Maria Judith Feliciano, "The Invention of Mudejar Art and the Viceregal Aesthetic Paradox: Notes on the Reception of Iberian Ornament in New Spain," in *Histories of Ornament from Global to Local*, ed. ed. Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 70–81.
[41] Joseph Masheck, "The Carpet Paradigm: Integral Flatness from Decorative to Fine Art," *Arts Magazine* (1976): 83–109; Dominique Clévenot and Gérard Degeorge, *Splendors of Islam: Architecture, Decoration, and Design* (New York: Vendome Press: 2000); Gülru Necipoğlu and Julia Bailey, eds., *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar's Eightieth Birthday: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 192; Anika Reineke, Anne Röhl, Mateusz Kapustka, and Tristan Weddigen, eds., *Textile Terms: A Glossary* (Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2017), 23, 33, 81, 103, 215, 267, 289, 309.
[42] Richard Ettinghausen, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins, eds. *Islamic Art and Architecture 650–1250*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 2001), 51, 243.
[43] Cynthia Robinson, "Marginal Ornament: Poetics, Mimesis and Devotion in the Palace of the Lions," in *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar*, eds., Gülru Necipoğlu and Julia Bailey (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 185–214.

tents, curtains, or prayer rugs.[44] It would be negligent to exclude this body of literature, given the overlapping qualities between textiles and architecture in the Islamic arts.

Finally, in the fourth and final chapter of this study, attention on the new Hebrew style. This chapter discusses ornamental forms that evolved at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Amid a new phase of migration in the early days of Palestine, Europeans created a new and original ornament style, which merged the East and the West. Vladimir Stasov, a Russian art critic, published *L'Ornement Hébreu* in 1905 with David Günzburg. It was a well-known text within Jewish studies and a personal project that they felt was missing from the anthologies on ornament of their day. This publication is important because it was the first book to catalogue Jewish ornament. According to Stasov and Günzburg, it is a publication that reflected the aesthetic aims of Jewish art and ornament. Nurit Shilo-Cohen's *Bezalel 1906–1929* (1989) provides one of the most comprehensive texts on Boris Schatz, who founded the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in 1906, and it provides a detailed overview of the school's early years. Additionally, Dalia Manor's book *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (2004) offers a discussion on the relationship between art, Zionism, and national ideology, and it focuses on the Bezalel school's arts and crafts and painting. Both authors offer insight into a new aesthetic, but their discussions do not connect to a wider or global debate on ornament. They provide essential information related to a new beginning in Jewish ornament following the style evolution described above.

The state of literature reveals that a large number of texts have been devoted to synagogue architecture, the histories of synagogues, and the additional topics addressed above. However, the point of departure for this study is the shift that took place on painted surfaces in synagogue interiors during the nineteenth century in Europe and North America. This dissertation hopes to reveal in some detail the nature of and reasons for this ornamental and aesthetic transformation into Islamic revival synagogues.

Methodology

Taking its lead from the scholarly work presented thus far on synagogues and Islamic ornament, the present research takes an interdisciplinary approach to analyzing painted

[44] Lisa Golombek, "The Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in Islam*, ed. Carol Bier, Richard Ettinghausen, and Priscilla Soucek (University Park: Published for the College Art Association of America by the Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 25–34.

surfaces with Islamic patterns. The main question is: why was there a break from one artistic tradition to another, and how did ornamental styles shift? The evolution from Jewish folkloric motifs to Islamic patterns altered the composition of painted interiors, and this is why the aim here is to undertake a transnational exploration of synagogue ornament shaped by the East by examining the circulation of design information, and the sources available for architects. A concise selection of case studies forms the core of this dissertation, and includes the Rumbach Synagogue in Budapest, the Spanish and Jerusalem Synagogues in Prague, the Central Synagogue in New York, and the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati. Each synagogue presents a unique interpretation of Islamic ornament, whether through color or pattern, and interior wall paintings, for all locations were restored to their original design. The chosen buildings present a link between ornament, invention, imagination, and knowledge across various media and geographies, generating a transnational connection through decoration.

To study this link, a range of archival materials and site visits were used as well as restoration reports and nineteenth-century periodicals on architecture such as *Die Neuzeit* and the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* offered insight into synagogue interior descriptions and architectural drawings. An analysis of painted surfaces and ornament used Owen Jones and Jules Goury's *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* for the period from 1836 to 1842 and Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* from 1856 onward. Due to the consequences of Kristallnacht, also known as the Night of Broken Glass, over 1,000 synagogue buildings were destroyed; nevertheless surviving archival and photographic evidence can be found in many collections across Europe, Israel, and North America. Primary sources and documents located in Europe include the Jewish Museum Archives in Prague, Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives, Budapest City Archives in Budapest, the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, The Wien Museum, the Vienna Jewish Museum and Archives, and the Hochschule für Bildende Künste in Dresden. These archives provided primary information concerning the descriptions of synagogue interiors, synagogue drawings, and Jewish ritual objects. In North America, the Temple Emanu-El Bernard Judaica Collection, the Central Synagogue in New York, the Plum Street Temple Archives, and the United States Holocaust Museum also provided photographic evidence and vital synagogue information. In Israel, the archives reflected a visual record of the many communities' social and artistic influences. This was found in the William Gross Collection of Judaica, the Center for Jewish Art, and the Yad Vashem Photo Collection. Additionally, the Museum of the Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot provided models of synagogue reconstructions. Information

concerning the pre-emancipation synagogues and the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts was located in the National Library of Israel and the Israel Museum Collection. In addition, a selection of nineteenth-century ornament publications allowed me to consider how ornamental patterns were reused. The corpus of texts was expansive, and dozens of texts were published, some more well-known than others.[45] Examining these sources, one can see how Islamic ornament came to be a phenomenon considered within Western artistic circles.[46]

Through an attentive analysis of nineteenth-century publications, objects, and architectural surfaces, this research explores an important time in ornament history and sheds light on the degrees of creation, translation, and invention of ornamental forms. It is important to note that Jewish communities faced pressures from within and without. This is partly due to three societal shifts that impacted Jewish identity—namely, Jewish emancipation and the resulting *Haskalah* movement within Europe, the Jewish migration to the United States in the mid-1800s, and the migration of Jews around the world to Palestine. A rising global interest in Islamic ornament, however, also had a part to play. Therefore, through select case studies, this research reveals the decorative and aesthetic transformation that occurred in Islamic revival synagogues, and it links the multiple applications of polychrome ornament from animal to arabesque.

[45] For example, Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe; ou Monuments du Kaire et dessinés, de 1818 à 1825* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1839); Racinet Auguste, *L'Ornement Polychrome: Deux cent vingt Planche en Couler* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869); Heinrich Dolmetsch, *Ornamental Treasures: A Collection of Designs from India, China, Japan, Italy, France, Germany* (London: A. W. Cowan, 1888); Emile Prisse d'Avennes, *La décoration arabe* (Paris: J. Savoy et cie., 1885); and James Ward, *Historic Ornament* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897).

[46] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 175; Carol A. Hrvol Flores, *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006); Ariane Braga Varela, *Une Théorie Universelle au Milieu du XIXe Siècle: La Grammar of Ornament d'Owen Jones.* (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2017).

Chapter 1:
Painted Walls: Pre-Emancipation Synagogues and Jewish Decoration

1.1 Nature as Decoration

Maimonides, a medieval Sephardic Jewish philosopher, stated in a rare acknowledgment to the visual arts that, "if someone is feeling melancholy, they should cure it by listening to songs and various kinds of melodies, by walking in gardens and fine buildings, by sitting before beautiful forms, and by things like this which delight the soul and make the disturbance of melancholy disappear from it."[47] Maimonides's commentary is significant because it describes the aesthetic experience of engaging with art and the joy that comes from its visual, musical, and architectural dimensions. This thought on interacting with beauty and the arts is also important, since it is often suggested that the Jewish literary tradition was ranked higher than its visual tradition, yet images and beautiful forms have continually existed in Jewish life.[48] Reflecting on the centrality of Maimonides's answer to cure a melancholy feeling, his reference to a garden is an optimal starting point for my investigation into the variety of ornamental forms found in pre-emancipation synagogues, particularly those of Eastern Europe.

Nature scenes, and the imagery of gardens in particular, occupy a special place in the artistic milieu of Eastern and Western art. The practice of decorating building walls and depicting gardens or the natural world can be found in Mughal architecture, in Iznik tiles in Ottoman architecture, and in in late Roman building mosaics.[49] Additionally, the Garden of Eden (and its interpretation or depiction) is commonly found on paintings and manuscripts.[50] Nature—or at least its depiction—in synagogue decoration is found as early as the first

[47] Maimonides (Rambam), *Eight Chapters* [Introduction to Commentary on Mishnah Avot], in *Ethical Writings of Maimonides*, ed. Raymond L. Weiss with Charles Butterworth (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 60–104, (Chapter 5, 298).
[48] Marc Michael Epstein, *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 2–12 and 113–117; Richard I. Cohen, "The Visual Image of the Jew and Judaism," in *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 9–67, 9; Margaret Olin, "From Bezalel to Max Lieberman: Jewish Art in Nineteenth-Century Art Historical Texts," in *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, ed. Catherine M. Soussloff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 19–40.
[49] Maureen Carroll, *Earthly Paradises: Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 108.
[50] Vanessa Remington, *Painting Paradise: The Art of the Garden* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 25–41; Monty Don and Derry Moore, *Paradise Gardens: The World's Most Beautiful Islamic Gardens* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2018).

century CE, and lions, as an example of the animal kingdom, appeared from the fourth to the sixth century. Therefore, the visual world exists in the cultures of many (if not all) peoples, including the Jewish people, whose visual culture is rife with artistic and architectural imagery and decoration.

Animals, both real and fantastic, occupied an important place in pre-emancipation Eastern European synagogue surfaces, and artists readily used animal motifs, along with foliate designs, as part of their ornamental lexis. Vegetal and zoomorphic creatures transformed synagogue interiors found in pre-emancipation Eastern Europe. The decoration was influenced by Jewish mysticism and liturgy, which created a unique folkloric style, and this type of synagogue ornament will be referred to as "pre-emancipation ornament." The representation of nature adorning interior spaces was an important visual source and a way to emulate a celestial atmosphere. Aniconic representations of flora and fauna were not only found in synagogues from Eastern Europe, as these were also discovered in the ancient world in mosaics, charms, tombstones, and frescos.[51] Flora and fauna imagery played a significant role in many diverse artistic traditions, and this is particularly true when it comes to Jewish synagogue interiors. In this context, vegetation merged with animal imagery to create remarkable compositions. Leaf and fruit motifs were also utilized as ornamentation, not only on wall surfaces but also on ceremonial objects. Naturalistic motifs created lavish ornamentation, eliciting celestial metaphors related to the visualization of gardens and perhaps even the Garden of Eden. There are examples throughout the Bible or Torah (the Hebrew Bible) that reference pomegranates, grapes, figs, olive trees, and dates.

Jewish villages in Eastern Europe, including Poland, Russia, and Lithuania, had examples of illustrated flat, anthropomorphic animals, flora and fauna illustrations, and painted surfaces on synagogue walls.[52] The synagogue wall paintings from Poland and other countries created all-embracing interiors of ornament and motifs influenced from liturgical sources and nature. Vegetal ornament was an essential component in Jewish decorative and visual arts, which can encompass a wide range of interpretation and symbolism. Depicting nature places both the artist and the viewer in the natural world. Painted surfaces found in synagogues incorporated polychrome scenes of animals and vegetation. Many of these synagogues were either made from stone and painted with frescos or constructed from wood

[51] Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 33–44.
[52] Batsheva Goldman-Ida, *Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella: Wooden Synagogues* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2014), 132.

with a pagoda-like structure. These synagogues embraced nature as their decorative language, and this early phase of wall painting exhibits a unique and imaginative artistic expression. This chapter will explore the influence of nature as a decorative form that was painted on walls and ceilings, a form that created a canopy of ornament. It will explore the meaning and sources behind the various nature motifs and look closely at how forms were reused on ceremonial decorative objects and architecture. This theme of the natural world is often linked to Jewish texts and ideas including the Creation story and the Garden of Eden.[53] The painted compositions found in synagogues during the pre-emancipation period included motifs and symbols that generated a tapestry of forms.

Jewish communities from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the mid-sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were comparatively affluent, even though there were societal restrictions.[54] This moment in Jewish history was known as the "Golden Age" for Polish Jewry and saw the largest number of synagogue buildings anywhere in the world. Until 1935, 80 percent of the Jewish population came from this area, but ultimately, as these communities became increasingly poorer over time, segments of the population migrated and relocated to other parts of Europe.[55] The synagogues from this period had an original ornamental style and innovative architectural construction. The increasing frequency of wars and pogroms resulted in desolation, and by 1795 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ended, forcing over 1,200,000 Jews into mass relocations.[56]

It is important to note that two significant ethnographic expeditions occurred between 1912 and 1916 to survey Eastern Europe's slowly dissolving communities. Lead by Shloyme Zaynvl Rapoport, also known as S. Ansky, a Russian and Yiddish writer, activist, and devoted Jewish ethnographer, the aim of the first expedition was to collect as many artifacts as possible for scholarly study, to educate future generations about Jewish folktales and songs, and to inspire artists.[57] Ansky commented that "every year the most precious pearls of

[53] Ida Huberman, *Living Symbols: Symbols in Jewish Art and Tradition* (Ramat Gan: Massada Publications, 1988), 52.
[54] Thomas Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2003), 13.
[55] Maria Piechotka and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's Gate: Wooden Synagogues in the Territory of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Warsaw: Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2004), 34–39.
[56] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 35–38.
[57]Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, "We Are Too Late: An-Sky and the Paradigm of No Return," in *The Worlds of S. An-sky: A Russian Jewish Intellectual at the Turn of the Century*, ed. Gabriella Safran and Steven J. Zipperstein (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 83–102; Eugene M. Avrutin, ed., *Photographing the Jewish*

folk art are disappearing or being destroyed. As the older generation dies out, they take with them to the grave the legacy of a thousand years of folk art."[58] This quote points to the urgency at the time to document as much as possible. It also underscores that there were more examples (synagogues and ritual objects) of Jewish visual culture than there as are today. Ansky and his expedition team saw the need to preserve something that would be lost. In addition to documenting the material culture of the Jewish areas, his second aim was to create an exhibition that would display Jewish life, its songs, theater, and other artistic achievements. Everything was displayed in 1914; however, the exhibit was closed and relocated in 1917 to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum.[59] The exposition presented manuscripts, ritual art, marriage contracts, and hundreds of synagogue photographs and their interiors. A second expedition took place in 1915 organized by the Jewish Ethnographic Society, and Russian artist El Lissitzky took part in this mission. Lissitzky drew floor plans and copied wall paintings from over 200 synagogues (Fig. 1).[60] Upon seeing the synagogue in Mogilev, a small town in Belarus, Lissitzky noted that "the abundance of decorative forms seems inexhaustible. One can see it all as if flowing from the horn of plenty, the virtuoso's hand never tiring. It is impossible to encompass the painting; it is alive and moves due to inherent luminescence."[61] The pre-emancipation synagogue interiors are particularly noteworthy, since most, if not all, were destroyed during World War II and only exist in photographs and current reconstruction projects. The synagogue painters were most likely part of the Jewish community and local painters were not trained by an academy or school. These two expeditions carried out by Ansky and Lissitzky were important in chronicling synagogue decoration from the pre-emancipation period. While the larger objective of the expeditions was to survey Jewish life and culture for a future museum in St.

Nation: Pictures from S. An-sky's Ethnographic Expeditions (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 6–10.

[58] S. Ansky, Vasilii Rakitin, and Andrei Sarabianov, *The Jewish Artistic Heritage Album by Semyon An-sky*, trans. Alan Myers (Moscow: "RA," 1994), 32.

[59] Avrutin, *Photographing the Jewish Nation*, 195.

[60] This expedition was also important due to the constant pogroms that were organized by the Cossacks in the Jewish areas. See Victor Margolin, *The Struggle for Utopia: Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy, 1917–1946* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 24–25.

[61] Vivian B. Mann, "Recapturing the Past," in *Gilded Lions and Jeweled Horses: The Synagogue to the Carousel*, ed. Murray Zimiles (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2007), 1–13, 6. The original article was published in 1923 in *Rimon-Milgroim*, which was edited by synagogue and Jewish art scholar Rachel Wischnitzer.

Petersburg, the documentation of over 200 synagogues illustrates the large corpus of synagogue wall paintings that once survived around Eastern Europe.[62]

1.2 Miraculous Creatures and Animals

The animal kingdom has been an ever-present visual source for Jewish artisans and craftsmen. Moving beyond their decorative properties, symbolism plays a key role in the creation of Jewish ornament, and it is tied to numerous ancient traditions. A menagerie of animals and zoomorphic creatures are found in synagogues, ritual objects, and domestic spaces. Animals included peacocks, doves, eagles (single and double-headed), elephants, rabbits, oxen, bears, deer, unicorns, lions, and zodiac symbols. These animal images could symbolize attributes of wisdom and protection or emulate a heavenly feeling, and these forms appear in Jewish visual culture referencing biblical stories and folklore. Jewish art has absorbed its scriptural influences as inspirations for numerous objects and architectural features. The variations of birds and their meaning are quite significant to the ornamentation in which they play a part. Within Jewish folk art, the eagle, for example, represents protection much like the lion.[63] The difference is that the lion is seen as a leader of the animals, whereas the eagle is not.[64] In ancient synagogues imagery, birds appear frequently. Similar to lions, birds often appear on synagogue arks, ceilings, manuscripts, and other ritual objects. In the Bible, the eagle is also used as an allegory for protection.[65] Often, there are representations of a double-headed eagle, which was popular in synagogue chandeliers throughout Europe until World War II.[66] While the eagle went on to acquire new meanings throughout history, when used in Jewish art it definitely also had an association with a heraldry, symbolizing the local Jewish community's allegiance to the state, be it the Russian or Habsburg Empire or some

[62] Mann, "Recapturing the Past," 1–3.
[63] Genesis 49:9: "A lion cub is Judah; from the prey, my son you elevated yourself. He crouches, lies down like a lion, and like an awesome lion, who dares rouse him? The scepter should not depart from Judah" (Scherman and Zlotowitz, 276–279). Biblical references are from Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, *The Chumash* (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 2004).
[64] Huberman, *Livings Symbols*, 26–27.
[65] Genesis 1:20: "Let the waters teem with teeming living creatures, and fowl that fly about over the earth across the expanse of the heavens" (Scherman and Zlotowitz, 7). See also Exodus 19:4, "You have seen what I did to Egypt, and that I have borne you on the wings of eagles and brought you to Me" (Scherman and Zlotowitz, 400–403).
[66] Ilia Rodov, "The Eagle, Its Twin Heads and Many Faces: Synagogue Chandeliers Surmounted by Double Headed Eagles," in *Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context*, ed. Julie-Marthe Cohen, Shlomo Berger, and Irene E. Zwiep (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 77–133, 76.

other political entity.[67] Animal imagery was an essential theme incorporated into Jewish decoration, which artists could use to transmit various mystical or religious ideas. Illustrated on these objects, whether woven or embroidered, is a connection between object and surface conveying biblical messages, dedications, and symbols.

Synagogue spaces traditionally include an elaborate decorative cabinet that contains the Torah scrolls, which is known as an ark or *aron kodesh*. A *ner tamid* or "eternal light" hangs in front of every ark, symbolizing a continual fire from the Temple in Jerusalem. Other items are a *bimah* (an elevated platform for reading the Torah) usually placed in the center (or front) of the room, depending on the congregation, and ritual objects including silver and textile items that dress the Torah scrolls. These objects invite the participant to engage with the space, and all of them are embellished with ornament inspired by the natural world. Jewish art adopts various forms and images, which are often repeated and interpreted through their transfer onto different materials. The ritual objects and synagogue wall paintings convey messages and motifs that create a unique ornamental "surfacescape."[68] While a surface can be defined as the main layer or a continuous set of points that has length and no thickness, a scape implies not only the intention to arrange parts but the recognition of a pattern. Therefore, the term "surfacescape" is used here to describe the synagogue interiors, which were, in essence, realms of ornament and spirituality. The materials used within Jewish applied arts include textiles, metal, wood, ceramic, and paper. Jewish decorative art was typically used for ceremonial purposes, for both public and domestic practice, and embraces an interpretation of exotic animals and plants. In buildings, and on ritual objects such as Torah crowns, Torah curtains for the *aron,* finials, and Torah breast plates, emblematic motifs create ornamental scenes that signify a spiritual connection to aesthetics through interpretations of nature. For example, the Torah is written on parchment and includes five books that explain the Creation, the early history of the Jews, laws, and ethics. Each scroll is adorned with silver. The Torah scroll is rolled together and bound with a fabric and clasp, and is then "dressed" in a *mantle* or cloth, which is sometimes embroidered. Surviving

[67] Rodov, "The Eagle," 91. Additional examples of birds are seen in Chanukah lamps from Vienna and all over Germany during the second half of the nineteenth century, and in many cases, they use eagle imagery. See Susan L. Braunstein, *Five Centuries of Hanukah Lamps from the Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Jewish Museum, 2004), 95.

[68] Jonathan Hay, *Sensual Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010); Jonathan Hay, "The Passage of the Other: Elements for a Redefinition of Ornament," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 62–69, 64–65.

photographs of synagogues in Eastern Europe reveal that the cabinet or *ark*, which stores the Torah, is often a complex, hand-carved, multi-tiered wooden structure depicting animals interlaced with vegetal motifs, as shown in the images (Figs. 2 and 3).

A Torah crown (*keter*) is placed on top of the wooden dowels that hold the written parchment together. A crown can be designed in different dimensions, either short and round or taller with detailed decoration sometimes including small bells. Two examples made in Poland, which are presently located in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, were created in the early or mid-eighteenth century. These crowns are made from silver cast, are pierced and engraved, and are decorated with flora and fauna, Hebraic text, and animals. The first example (Fig. 4), designed in 1726, is a hollow crown with the base in low relief decorated with interlaced silver tracery wrapping the circumference of the crown. The mid-section of the crown is supported by six outstretched lions, with birds and bells attached to floriated leaf motifs connecting to the upper tier with a Hebrew inscription stating: "The crown of the Torah, the crown of priesthood, the crown of royalty."[69] The top of the crown depicts griffins and an eagle. A second Torah crown (Fig. 5), also from Poland, is decorated with lions, birds, and architectural embellishment. It was designed in 1764 by a Jewish silversmith named Pinhas ben Meir, whose name is also that of a priest mentioned in the Torah (Numbers 25:7). This crown is inscribed with Hebrew, which reads: "Crown of Torah, Pinhas [the humble] Meir the worker in gold, silver and copper." The inscriptions therefore adds a double reference to priest and artisan—unlike the first example, which is also hollow—and it has a thick rounded base with a scene of eagles and imaginary creatures entangled with leaf motifs.[70] The central body of the crown is buttressed with curved pillars overlaid in branch motifs with blossoms, with each pillar separated by a floriated leaf. The highest point of the crown, resting on a simple footing, is a miniature crown. The small crown is wrapped with an architectural motif of small houses, which is possibly referencing the location where this crown was made, although the precise location is not identified. The top of the crown is molded from two alternating sets of smaller and larger leaves materializing into a hollow form.

A second type of ornamented object from the eighteenth century is a Torah breast plate or shield (Fig. 6) that hangs over the front of a Torah scroll. Commonly made from

[69] Chaya Benjamin, *The Stieglitz Collection: Masterpieces of Jewish Art* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum Jerusalem, 1987). Quote is from M. Avot 4:13.
[70] Benjamin, *The Stieglitz Collection*.

silver as well, these objects have designs that can include a variety of metal techniques: they can be either elaborately wrought with repoussé, engraved, or pressed with semi-precious stones. The top of the shield is engraved with a miniature cartouche inscribing God's name, which is surrounded with detailed floral motifs. Below this feature are architectural details with a pair of lions resting on top of two columns that flank the Hebrew Tablets of the Law and a second engraved quotation stating: "I am ever mindful of the Lord's presence." Surrounding the columns, the flora motif spirals downward, descending all the way to the base, where there is a griffin on either side.

A third type of ornamented object consists of the Torah curtains that hang in front of the ark or cabinet that holds the Torah scrolls. These textiles used in every Jewish community have unique material properties. In pre-emancipation synagogues, when fabrics were particularly precious, they could be made from repurposed wedding dresses and shawls with sections of printed or other types of fabric (Fig. 7). These curtains were often embroidered and contained appliqué, beading, lace, and patchwork. Richly designed, they also feature Jewish motifs, which add a pictorial dimension and are often designed by women of the community for the community, having been donated in someone's honor or memory. Images of curtains featured on Figure 8 are in the Jewish Museum's collection in New York, one design from Germany and another from Poland. The Torah curtain from Germany has a rich, dark, red velvet background with embroidered and metallic silk thread illustrating an elaborate scene featuring double-headed griffins, crowns, and vases with floral patterns. The patterns on the vases have tendrils that weave themselves seamlessly into the red velvet background. There are two columns with grapes and leafy tendrils that wrap around the pillars, descending all the way to the bottom of the curtain. The architectural motif frames a green velvet fabric with an embroidered menorah, and a second double-headed griffin in yellow fabric sits below in the lower section of the curtain. The wings of the griffin are outstretched with a pair of fish embroidered in opposite directions on its abdomen. A second Torah curtain, created in Poland (Fig. 8) during the late eighteenth century, also includes a red velvet background, and features silk, embroidered silk thread, metallic lace, embroidery, metallic foil, and glass. Similar to the Torah curtain from Germany, it displays many architectural features and animals. The top of the curtain includes a pair of lions holding up a crown with a smaller embroidered Hebrew Tablet inscribed in Hebrew with the laws that are also found on the Torah shield mentioned above. Flanking the pair of lions are two columns made from a second material of embroidered silk thread. White and red flowers are sewn

with the grape vines wrapping around the columns. In the center of the two columns is a large rectangular piece of fabric designed with clusters of flowers framed with gold metallic lace. Below is a second longer piece of fabric made from green and silver metallic floral motifs with green fringe. These curtains reveal how motifs were reused with similar compositions that include zoomorphic, vegetal, and architectural details.

Ida Huberman's *Living Symbols: Symbols in Jewish Art* notes that motifs from the natural world were regarded among the wonders of the universe and that Jewish motifs were rooted in biblical and mystical ideas.[71] During the Middle Ages, for example, fables and stories about animals were particularly popular as Jewish art immersed itself in the atmosphere and interpretation of the natural world.[72] Therefore, the symbols and motifs in these works of art could refer to the Creation story in Genesis, thus conveying an important message of continuity and reflection. Additionally, an ancient source called *Perek Shira*, which translates to *Chapter of Song*, further provides information about the significance of animal symbols.[73] This publication (author unknown) has six chapters and eighty-four parts, and conveys the message that everything in the world teaches us a moral and ethical lesson through the voice of an animal. *Perek Shira* includes all the elements of nature, from the sky and the oceans, and all types of animals from the bee to the elephant.

One final way in which animal motifs and nature are fused together is in papercuts. Although this topic is outside the scope of this dissertation, it should be noted that these handmade designs were produced for domestic and religious environments. This craft practice extended from northern European Jewish communities to Jewish communities in Turkey and Iraq. The underlying idea for these designs was purely decorative, but for some Jewish communities in the West (Europe or the United States) there is a custom to hang these rectangular and symmetrical artworks on eastern-facing walls in a private space or in the synagogue, noting the direction of prayer.[74] Papercuts are intricate rectangular compositions that illustrate Jewish symbols via animal, geometric, and floral motifs. These motifs can either be used framing elements or as the central element of the design. The art of the papercut continues to this day. Surviving examples from the Jewish Museum in New York collection (Fig. 9) and (Fig. 10) further prove that the visual atmosphere of the Jewish

[71] Huberman, *Livings Symbols*, 15.
[72] Huberman, *Livings Symbols*, 26.
[73] Nosson Scherman, *Perek Shira: The Song of the Universe* (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 2004).
[74] Maurice Berger, Joan Rosenbaum, Vivian B. Mann, and Norman L. Kleeblatt, *Masterworks of the Jewish Museum* (New York: Jewish Museum, 2004), 40.

communities of Europe and the Middle East was multidimensional. The motifs on these two examples reflect similar designs, which are also found on carved wooden arks and synagogue interiors. These papercuts are also linked to design elements found on various ritual objects, further demonstrating a dynamic and unique ornamental vocabulary. Jewish ritual objects and painted wall murals from the pre-emancipation period are therefore connected through transmediality.[75] Animal and vegetal forms are reinterpreted and reused across surfaces, on silver, in papercuts, and on synagogue interiors.

1.3 Synagogue Murals from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century

In 1923, art historians Szymon Zajczyk and Oskar Sosnowski from the Department of Polish Architecture of the Polytechnic School in Warsaw documented wooden synagogues.[76] Zajczyk was a well-known Polish historian and made many trips around Eastern Europe recording Jewish sites and artifacts.[77] Together with Sosnowski, he produced the largest survey of Eastern European synagogues and their research was the only work to offer a complete assessment of each building. Zajczyk was eventually killed during WWII and his thousands of watercolor drawings and photographs were mostly destroyed in 1944 with only a small percentage of them surviving.[78] His remaining work was published by Maria Piechotka and Kazimierz Piechotka in their book *Wooden Synagogues* in 1957. Together, Szymon Zajczyk and Oskar Sosnowski contributed to the memory of Jewish ornament and architecture from this period. Synagogue surfaces existed in the early modern period and wooden synagogues were found in Jablonów, Kamionka-Strumilowa, and other towns in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[79] There were thousands of synagogues in Eastern Europe. Surviving examples are scarce, yet by exploring synagogues from this period one can clearly see that painted surfaces were intrinsic to synagogues in the pre-emancipation era.[80] As one can observe in existing photographs taken by artist Alois Breyer, synagogues were painted ornately, their walls and ceilings given a tapestry-like surface as seen in the

[75] Gerhard Wolf, "Vesting Walls, Displaying Structure, Crossing Cultures: Transmedial and Transmaterial Dynamics of Ornament," in, *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Harvard University Press, 2016), 96–105, 104–105.
[76] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 7–8.
[77] Stanley Sokol, *The Polish Biographical Dictionary: Profiles of Nearly 900 Poles Who Have Made Lasting Contributions to World Civilization* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1992), 448.
[78] Ewa Manikowska, "On the Crossroad of the West and the East: The Multi-Ethnic Cultural Landscape of Eastern Galicia and the Pale of Settlement," in *Photography and Cultural Heritage in the Age of Nationalisms: Europe's Eastern Borderlands (1867–1945)* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).
[79] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 165; Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 77.
[80] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 165.

Chodorów synagogue (Fig. 11). These painted walls and ceilings are surrounded by biblical symbols, mystical elements, and zodiac signs. Four significant examples of pre-emancipation synagogues exist: the Boskovice Synagogue built in the Czech Republic, the Chodorów and Gwoździec Synagogues built in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Horb Synagogue built in southern Germany.[81] The interiors of these synagogues were executed in large stages over many years. Each synagogue had polychrome decoration dating from the mid-seventeenth century. Synagogue paintings from this period combine polychrome floral decoration with symbolic creatures, and in other examples geometric floral borders and *rocaille* motifs are used. The symbolic creatures included unicorns, double-headed eagles, and scorpions.[82] In some instances, Hebrew inscriptions were used as decorative or functional ornament, so that, in the latter case, worshipers could participate in services. The ornament created for these surfaces was shaped by spiritual and astrological themes. Synagogues of Eastern Europe developed a simple construction, some with barrel vaulting and painted decoration.

In the synagogues of Gwoździec and Chodorów, the wall painting compositions are similar and two architectural reconstruction projects in the past few years have refabricated parts of the colorful surfaces. The Chodorów Synagogue (Fig. 12) was built in 1652, and the interior walls were painted by Israel ben Mordechai Lissnicki, a Jewish artist well known in the seventeenth century.[83] The community of Chodorów was constantly persecuted in 1648, and in 1714 the synagogue was built. It is possible that the synagogue was in existence beyond 1714, but it is not clear due to a lack of documentation.[84] Chodorów was completely destroyed in 1939, but the Museum Beit Hatfutsot (Museum of the Jewish People) in Tel Aviv, Israel, has constructed a life-size color model of the synagogue. Imperfect archival information is limited to black and white photographs, and it is possible the museum had to take certain liberties with the color variations. Lissnicki was known to have painted other synagogues in the area, and he could have been influenced by Jewish folk art, Jewish manuscripts and printed books, carvings on tombstones in Jewish cemeteries, and other synagogue interiors.[85] Like many synagogues from the period, the wall decoration and

[81] Nitza Davidovitch and Eyal Lewin, eds., *Warsaw and Jerusalem: Polish-Jewish History, Culture, Values, and Education between Paradise and Inferno* (Irvine, CA: Brown Walker Press, 2018), 47.
[82] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 175.
[83] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 196.
[84] Bracha Yaniv, "The Hidden Message of the Hares in the Talons of the Eagle," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 36, no. 2 (2012): 281–294, 292.
[85] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 168.

composition were similar, with surfaces covered with nature-inspired forms and inscriptions from the Torah and various prayer texts. In the middle of the ceiling, there are two eagles and hares surrounded by circular and plaited vegetal motifs. The twelve zodiac signs encircle the two eagles and hares on a crimson red background with green and yellow vines and floral designs appearing embroidered and embellishing the surface (Fig. 13). Two vases frame the ceiling with plant forms sprouting upward into a larger design of hares and entangled fish. The scene of birds, foxes, rabbits and zodiac symbols is framed by zoomorphic animals on the edges of the ceiling. This reconstruction is unique, since it offers rare insight into the polychromy that once existed in these religious structures (and in other structures). Jewish art historian Bracha Yaniv comments that, while common in synagogue interiors during this period, eagles "are considered metaphoric allusions to God and whether single or double-headed eagles appear, their meaning is a divine presence disseminating the light of the Torah."[86]

The Gwoździec Synagogue predates the Chodorów Synagogue and is about 130 kilometers southeast. It was built around 1640 in a traditional wooden design.[87] If the synagogue were still standing today, the walls would be enveloped with flattened decoration of animals, including deer, roosters, lions, bears, fish and seagulls; inscriptions; and vegetal ornament filling all the wall surfaces. The walls would depict flowering urns and Hebrew writing. The vegetal motifs would be intertwined, morphing into circular patterns comprising petals, stems, and leaves woven into a canopy of the natural world. Depictions of foliage and zoological creatures were common because they illustrated nature and pairings of different species. The colored surfaces of this synagogue would incorporate light muted blues, yellows, reds, greens, and oranges. The surfacescapes would present an arrangement of decorative panels with compressed illustrations and geometric borders. In the Gwoździec Synagogue, Polish painter Karol Maszkowski produced a few drawings of the building, and he commented in 1894 that (Fig. 14):

[86] Yaniv, "The Hidden Message of the Hares," 282. Images of eagles can commonly be found on chandeliers and tombstones. See Ilia Rodov, "The Eagle," 77–129. Concerning Jewish cemeteries, see Rudolf Klein, *Metropolitan Jewish Cemeteries of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Study* (Petersburg: Imhoff, 2018).

[87] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 93. In 2011, The Association for the Jewish Historical Institute of Poland with the Museum of the History of Polish Jews initiated the Gwoździec Synagogue Reconstruction Project, where they reconstructed the painted ceiling.

> the interior of the Gwoździec wooden synagogue was covered floor to ceiling with prayer texts, zodiac signs, messianic symbols and animals familiar and exotic. The effect was an impressive tapestry. The most elaborate image is above the ark. They are on the eastern wall in the direction of prayer. The image of the Tablets is flanked by winged cherubim in the form of a griffin with Hebraic inscriptions describing the Tabernacle and Temple in Jerusalem.[88]

The Handshouse Project was responsible for the reconstruction of the Gwoździec Synagogue (Fig. 15). The research project began in 2005. Handshouse is a nonprofit educational organization that works with students, craftspeople, historians, scholars, and architects to investigate and recreate objects, sculptures, or various architectural structures in order to understand how and why they were was built. Its workers used traditional tools to turn 200 freshly logged trees into timber. The interior was recreated from a few surviving drawings, one painting by Isidor Kaufmann, and black-and-white photographs; therefore, some liberties were taken when recreating the polychrome interiors (Fig. 16). Nevertheless, one challenge they faced concerned the color scheme and another was about the spectrum of colors. For example, the color red has a range, and it was difficult to know whether it was warmer or cooler, brighter or darker. Paint colors had to be reinvented to mirror the pigments used when the synagogue paintings were originally created. To determine how the colors may have been used, the researchers led expeditions to Poland to document the colors found in nearby Christian churches that may have been painted in a style inspired by local synagogues.[89] An additional challenge was the need to ensure consistency in all the hues that were recreated, since there were approximately 200 student painters involved in the project. The Gwoździec Synagogue replica was then donated to the POLIN (Museum of the History of Polish Jews) in Warsaw in 2013. Additionally, Batsheva Goldman-Ida connects this imagery to popular folk prints, such as the Lubok (Fig. 17), which were illustrated with plain backgrounds, bright colors, and simple forms.[90] According to Thomas Hubka, "the paintings on the walls and ceilings of the Gwoździec synagogue were placed in geometric frames dividing the surface into a grid organization showing the artist had a clear understanding of the interior space."[91]

---

[88] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Anthony Polonsky, eds., *1000 Year History of Polish Jews* (Warsaw: Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2014), 161.
[89] Neal Simpson, "The Art of Anthropology," *The Patriot Ledger*, April 20, 2012.
[90] Batsheva Goldman-Ida, *Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella*, 132. See also the edited volume by Valerie Ann Kivelson, *Picturing Russia: Explorations in Visual Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 10. Lubki were popular woodblock prints. "Lubok" comes from the word "*lubochnyi*," meaning "bast," which is the soft layer of the trees; it is used to make baskets and shoes. Lubki were sometimes used for propaganda and are similar to the European broadsheet with short texts.
[91] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 87.

The panels of text have sections of prayers said during the week or on Jewish holidays, as seen in the painting by Isidor Kaufmann from 1897, which is shown in Figure 16. The panels of inscriptions were large and the texts were on white backgrounds with black lettering, and they looked like pages in a prayer book.[92]

In addition, the interiors show tent structural elements such as painted fabric stitching or motifs with edging and curved rounded borders. The walls could possibly symbolize the curtains of the Tabernacle. This imagery of a tent not only links to the Jewish Tabernacle but also to Ottoman tent construction (Fig. 18).[93] The Tabernacle is the source for modern-day synagogues, and the basis for synagogue construction is derived directly from the idea of the Tabernacle. It is the reason why synagogues were erected throughout the centuries as a source of remembrance of the ancient Temple. Furthermore, first-century CE historian Flavius Josephus in his *Antiquities of the Jews* describes the four veils that cover the Tabernacle. His writings offer an important literary contribution and detailed description of Jewish history. Josephus notes that:

> the first veil was ten cubits everyway, and this they spread over the pillars which parted the temple, and kept the most holy place concealed within; and this veil was that which made this part not visible to any. A second veil was very beautiful and embroidered with all sorts of flowers which the earth produces; and they were interwoven into it all sorts of variety that might be an ornament, excepting the form of animals. Another veil covered the five pillars that was at the entrance and finally a veil made of linen that could be drawn in either direction by cords. Many other curtains were used, one to cover the whole temple, one of woven hair or wool.[94]

Hubka notes that the construction of Ottoman tents was a possible second connection. He comments that this is not a direct comparison but a connection to understanding the architecture of Polish synagogues.[95] Additionally, the animal forms on the ceiling are some of the more stimulating scenes in the synagogue as analyzed in surviving photographs. The composition in the ceiling comprises mostly animal forms.[96]

The Horb Synagogue, built in 1735 in southern Germany, was painted by Eliezar Zusman from Poland (Fig. 19). Zusman was known to have also painted the synagogue

---

[92] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 91.
[93] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue*, 93–94.
[94] William Whiston, *The New Complete Works of Josephus*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1999), 123-124. Also see biblical source Exodus 26:1, which states: "You shall make the Tabernacle of ten curtains." See Scherman and Zlotowitz, *The Chumash*, 452–453.
[95] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogues*, 94.
[96] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogues*, 95.

interiors in Bechhofen and Kirchheim, Germany.[97] In the nineteenth century, Horb Synagogue was used as a barn and it was transferred to Israel from Bamberg, Germany, in 1968 and was reinstalled in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. Flora and fauna ornament envelop the interior and provide a visually complex composition, weaving together animals and foliage. The Horb Synagogue is one of the few surviving examples of a painted wood synagogue dating from the first half of the eighteenth century. Although very little is known about the community that used the Horb Synagogue, there were many small synagogues in Germany's rural areas that were lacking rabbis are other religious and communal leaders, and as a synagogue painter Zusman was seen as a religious figure.[98] In the Horb Synagogue (Fig. 20), the remaining fragments of the wall depict a dark green background with painted foliage, which includes grapes, flowers, stems, and leaves. Zusman inserted animals such as hares, swans, elephants, birds, and lions into the composition, while others are less unidentifiable. Vegetation dominates the overall synagogue design, filling in the borders. Unfortunately, there is no other information on Zusman's work.[99] Where the ark used to be, there is a painted curtain that appears to have been drawn aside and secured as if framing a window. On one side of the curtain appears a flat pattern of buildings, or what resembles a city, which could possibly be Horb or the city of Jerusalem (Fig. 21). On the other curtain panel, there are some inscriptions with a large vase with fruit and overflowing foliage framing the corner. In the center, there are horns that hang from chains. In the middle, there is an inscription bordered with a geometric pattern that is framed by two lions blowing trumpets. The ceiling is covered by a web of flowering and fruit bearing vegetation, forming a decorative composition that could be referencing the Garden of Eden. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the synagogue was reused as a barn and in 1908 it was rediscovered by chance. In 1913, it was transferred to the Bamberg Museum of Art, and in 1968 it was moved to the Israel Museum.[100]

In 2002, the Boskovice Synagogue was one of the few masonry structures restored after ten years of renovations (Fig. 22), which included the two years it took to complete its wall frescos. Beginning in 1988, the interior wall paintings were discovered, and in 1994 the exterior building issues were repaired. The Boskovice Synagogue was one of the first

[97] Davidovitch and Lewin, *Warsaw and Jerusalem*, 53–54.
[98] Davidovitch and Lewin, *Warsaw and Jerusalem*, 48.
[99] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 142.
[100] Yigal Zalmona, ed., *The Israel Museum at 40: Masterworks of Beauty and Sanctity* (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2005), 111.

synagogues restored by the World Monument Fund.[101] The property of the synagogue was purchased in 1639. Sylvestr Fiota, who was known as "the Italian" and who was born in Chiavenna in the Lombardy region of Italy, built the Boskovice Synagogue.[102] Fiota was one of the many Italian builders who spread the Renaissance style and new masonry techniques around Europe.[103] Mordecai of Cracow and Meir of Zülz from Poland painted the synagogue, which was completed between 1657 and 1667.[104] The interior wall composition of the structure is unique because there are Hebraic inscriptions and painted architectural details with floral and scrolling plant motifs interlaced with acanthus leaves and grapevine tendrils. The colors incorporate reddish browns, light yellows, muted greens, and grey. The elaborate designs appear woven into the ceiling and wall surfaces.[105] The interior also includes Renaissance patterns with decoration integrating with folk art, traditional Jewish symbols, and inscriptions, thus creating an original decorative expression.[106] The Boskovice Synagogue is the only building like this to survive from World War II in this style. The vaulted ceilings are painted, creating a canopy of naturalistic forms inspired by nature. The Boskovice and Horb Synagogues were similar in their ceiling composition, which feature elaborate illustrations of leaves, flowers, and stems in cooler hues.

The surfacescapes of pre-emancipation synagogues were designed with a range of chromatic interiors; some included wall text for prayers, inscriptions from the artist, animals interwoven with vegetal motifs, and decorative borders. The flat pattern of these synagogues resembled an interior wrapped in a decorative wall-hanging. While these synagogues no longer exist, with the exception of the Boskovice Synagogue, the walls of the Horb Synagogue, the reconstruction of the Gwoździec Synagogue roof and the ceiling of Chodorów Synagogue all offer a small glimpse into the multitude and variety of synagogues that once existed in Eastern Europe. In the Gwoździec Synagogue, a portion of text reads: "Executed by a craftsman employed in holy work, signed by the painter Israel son of the worthy rebbe Mordechai from the holy community of Jaryczów, the holy province of the community of Lviv."[107] In another surviving synagogue from the early seventeenth century in

[101] Samuel D. Gruber, *World Monuments Fund: Preservation Priorities: Endangered Historic Jewish Sites* (New York: World Monuments Fund, 1996), 6.
[102] Olga Sixtová, Daniel Polakovič, and Arno Pařík, *Boskovice Synagogue Guide* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 2002), 9.
[103] Sixtová et al., *Boskovice Synagogue Guide*, 9.
[104] Sixtová et al., *Boskovice Synagogue Guide*, 18–23.
[105] Arno Pařík, *Baroque Synagogues in the Czech Lands* (Prague**:** Jewish Museum, 2011**)**, 25.
[106] Pařík, *Baroque Synagogues***, 25.**
[107] Piechotka and Piechotka, *Wooden Synagogues*, 322.

Poland, the Pińczów Synagogue, an artist leaves a message stating: "In the heights, remember for good that man, whose name is Joseph, dealing with paintings, the exalted rabbi Joseph, a sexton of the community, our community here, son of our rabbi and teacher Eliezer of blessed memory, the year 1741."[108] We learn from these inscriptions that the local painter played a key role in the creation of interior designs in these synagogues, and they offer insight into the artist responsible for these painted wall and ceiling compositions. The ornamental style of these synagogues incorporates a mixture of forms and motifs integrating botanical and fantastic illustrations drawing the eye up and around. Symbolism plays a key role in the creation of ornamentation within these spaces and produces a more meaningful interaction of the ornament, as it signifies a spiritual connection to the aesthetics. Through interpretations of flora or fauna, symbols can both morph and adapt.

1.4 Conclusion

A unique integration of ornamental forms existed in pre-emancipation synagogues. The distinguishing qualities of Jewish ornament are that they embody symbols connecting man with nature. Aniconic motifs are the main ornamental vocabulary used in the synagogue examples of Boskovice, Chodorów, Gwoździec, and Horb. The circulation and incorporation of this ornament was found on ritual objects and synagogue interiors, revealing that motifs were transferred and adapted in various contexts and media, creating a visually rich sensory experience. Little would be known about these buildings and their interior wall paintings without the ethnographic expeditions organized by S. Ansky and El Lissitzky between 1912 and 1916 to survey Eastern Europe's Jewish communities; Szymon Zajczyk and Oskar Sosnowski's documentation of wooden synagogues in 1923, and Alois Breyer's and Karol Maszkowski's various drawings. The painters of these synagogues produced rich decoration on walls and ceilings, executing sacred polychromatic work. The artists emphasized a modern opulent interpretation of biblical and mystical imagery going beyond the literature, establishing a unique ornamental repertoire. Reaching its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the painted artwork on the walls of these wooden and masonry synagogues presented an original style of decoration.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were an increasing number of attacks on Jews, which forced them to relocate. However, Jewish mobility depended upon who was in

[108] Ilia Rodov, "What Is "Folk" about Synagogue Art?" *Images* 9, no. 1 (2016), 4. The Pińczów Synagogue was restored by the World Monuments Fund in 2005.

government. The *Haskalah* movement (Jewish Enlightenment), which was started at the end of the eighteenth century, focused on modernizing the Jewish communities of Europe. Equal rights for Jews were announced first in the Napoleonic Code in 1807 and following the Prussian Edict of 1812. A key aspect of the Prussian effort was the question of civil equality for Jews, which aimed to protect Jewish rights to vote and hold municipal positions.[109] Beginning in the nineteenth century, emancipation was granted, but this was precarious because the ruling authorities could change on a dime, as it were, with country borders continually being drawn and redrawn.[110] By the late 1840s, Jews were slowly granted more access to society and given more social freedoms. Thus, with this period of emancipation and new civil status, Jewish communities and their architecture changed along with many of their members' movement to urban centers.

In addition, there was new knowledge about ornament and architecture from several publications. A new type of ornament would be used, marking a shift in synagogue interior wall compositions. New synagogues would not only mirror the changing perception of Jews but how they were to be represented in architecture and decoration.

[109] Setfi Jersch-Wenzel, Michael A. Meyer, and Michael Brenner, *German-Jewish History in Modern Times, Volume 2: Emancipation and Acculturation, 1780–1871* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 26–27.
[110] David Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation: A History across Five Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 5.

Chapter 2
Contextualization and Historiography: The Emergence of Islamic Art in the History of Art

2.1 The Orient and the Writing of the First Global Art Surveys

Islamic architecture and ornamental forms offered a rich visual language and geographic scope to be surveyed and examined from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. This exciting architectural and decorative heritage extended as far as India, China, Turkey, North Africa and Egypt, and captured the interest of famous expeditions such as those led by Napoleon in 1798, who steered his army as far East as Egypt, and by diplomats and architects including the Irish architect James Cavanah Murphy, who traveled to Moorish Spain from 1802 to 1809.[111] Early tours were part of a quest not only for commercial opportunity, military involvement, or diplomatic advantage, but also for architectural investigation, thus broadening the perspective and development of European architectural knowledge of the East. Architects, painters, and photographers were drawn to the idyllic landscape, archeology, and colossal architecture of the above-mentioned areas. New publications, encyclopedic in nature, came to represent a European interest in the Islamic visual tradition and specifically in the visual tradition of the Islamic Orient. This interest can be seen in the expeditions to southern Spain, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine, which was often referred to as the Holy Land. Images of these locations circulated with the use of new technological developments, such as the daguerreotype, increasing the knowledge of Islamic architecture and ornament.

In many ways, the nineteenth century experienced a print revolution.[112] Travelogues, newspapers, journals, and art history surveys offered new content that provided illustrations of architecture, cityscapes, building designs, and construction. The abundance of printed material aided in expanding specialists' and the general public's knowledge of architectural history. Publications, photographs, and art history surveys created a network of information about Islamic architecture. These new, wide-ranging resources circulated throughout Europe

[111] Lynda S. Mulvin, "An Unknown Collection of Preliminary Drawings and Extra Illustrations Prepared for the Arabian Antiquities of Spain by James Cavanah Murphy in the Gennadius Library, Athens," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 35, no. 1 (2018): 301–348.
[112] Mari Hvattum and Anne Hultzsch, *The Printed and the Built: Architecture, Print Culture and Public Debate in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018), 3.

during the nineteenth century. Islamic architectural and archeological information was added into anthologies and handbooks, and these publications were used by scholars, travelers, and artists alike.[113] The emergence of Islamic visual traditions, which were added to the history of art, offered new knowledge to architects and society about the East. In addition to the expeditions initiated by the French and British armies and individual travelers, the contribution of German scholarship to the field of art history played a significant role in the first half of the nineteenth century by shaping art history into a discipline of study.[114] The early surveys of art history from German scholars were comprehensive handbooks that moved beyond a Eurocentric framework.[115] Global surveys were intended to generate a new writing of art history, one that included other cultures, their general history, and their architecture.[116] These new sources of information were the foundation of formalizing art history as an academic discipline and one of the many ways in which information of Islamic architecture would be disseminated to educational institutions and the general public. Franz Theodor Kugler and Karl Schnaase wrote the first global art histories, and these texts were published before university art history departments were established.[117] The aim was to "disclose a survey on the artistic activities of bygone centuries from the first attempt to the present."[118]

2.1.1 Franz Theodor Kugler: *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (1842)

In 1831, Franz Kugler earned his doctorate at the University of Berlin on medieval book illuminations, and three years later he wrote his *Habilitation* on the architecture of the Middle

[113] Mitchell Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," *Arts Journal* 54, no. 3 (1995): 24–29; Bradford R. Collins, "Rethinking the Introductory Art History Survey: A Practical, Somewhat Theoretical, and Inspirational Guide," *Arts Journal* 54, no. 3 (1995): 23.

[114] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds., *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 33; Matthew Rampley, *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2012), 7; Annette Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850–1950*, ed. Stephan Vernoit (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 117–127.

[115] Daniel Savoy, ed., *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review* (Leiden: Brill), 4.

[116] Michel Espagne, "Cultural Transfers in Art History," in *Circulations in the Global History of Art* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2015).

[117] Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," 24–29, Henrik Karge, "Projecting the Future in German Art Historiography of the Nineteenth Century: Franz Kugler, Karl Schnaase, and Gottfried Semper," *Journal of Art Historiography* 9 (2013): 1–26.

[118] "Ein Überblick über die Kunst thätigkeit der vegangenen Jahrhunderte, von den ersten Versuchen in den Bereichen der Kunst bis auf den Standpunkt des heutigen Tages, zu eröffen." Franz Theodor Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1842), Preface. See also Dan Karlholm, Art of Illusion: The Representation of Art History in Nineteenth-Century Germany and Beyond (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2006), 30.

Ages, which included Islam, Egypt, and India.[119] In 1842, Kugler wrote his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, which was the first art historical publication to attempt an original art history and to survey the artistic activities of past centuries. Kugler was an innovator in the field of art history by rejecting philosophy and placing an emphasis on historical facts. By borrowing models from how biologists created order with large amounts of evidence, Kugler applied this method and thus established a handbook of art history.[120] Kugler's handbook focused on global art history, and he wrote an expanded view on the world and artistic cultures beyond Europe. In 1856, he published *Geschichte der Baukunst*, which was a comprehensive treatment of the historical development of architecture that included architecture from ancient civilizations, including Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Rome, Arabia, and India.

In his preface to *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, Kugler states that, as far as he is aware, his was the first book to attempt a general comprehensive history of art.[121] His text has twenty-two chapters which span the period from art's earliest development to the end of the eighteenth century. He offers an overview of ancient art from Northern Europe, Egypt, and Asia, and from the Islamic world. Important here is Kugler's twelfth chapter, which deals with Islamic art. He begins by stating that with the birth of Islam there was not any artistic tradition except for the art that existed in the lands that invading Muslim armies had seized. Kugler further elaborates that the pre-existing art in these areas was still present, as there was no authority in place at the beginning to create a specific art for this new historical era. Any remnants of facial representation would not be permitted by this new religion, which spread quickly after it started around 610 AD.[122] As Kugler explains, in the early formation of Islamic art, the art was similar to the art of the early Christian era, except for one main difference: the absence of all figurative representation, especially the depiction of human

[119] Jörg Trempler, "Franz Kuglers Promotion und Habilitation oder die Zeichnung als Prüfungsgegenstand," in *In der Mitte Berlins: 200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an der Humboldt-Universität*, ed. Horst Bredekamp and Adam S. Labuda (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 55–65; Kilian Heck, "Die Bezüglichkeit der Kunst zum Leben: Franz Kugler und das erste akademische Lehrprogramm der Kunstgeschichte," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (2005): 7–15; Peter N. Miller, ed., *Cultural Histories of the Material World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 249–262.

[120] Stefan Muthesius, "Towards an 'exakte Kunstwissenschaft' (?): A Report on Some Recent German Books on the Progress of Mid-19th Century Art History, Part 1: Work by German Art Historians on Nineteenth Century Art Historiography since 2000," *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (2013): 1–34, 5.

[121] "Das Buch ist, soviel dem Verfasser bekannt, der erste Versuch einer allgemeinen und umfassenden Kunstgeschichte." Kugler, *Handbuch*, Preface; see also Karlholm, *Art of Illusion*, 26.

[122] Kugler, *Handbuch*, 394.

figures, which was forbidden.[123] However, there are exceptions because there are depictions of figures throughout the Arab world, particularly in Persian and Turkish art.[124] In Kugler's view, Islamic art would have a unique path because Muslims did not have a commitment to pictorial visual representation.[125] However, Avinoam Shalem argues that Kugler actually had very limited knowledge of Islamic art and artifacts.[126] Even though Kugler wrote a whole chapter on the subject, he considers Arabs as a group of people without artistic culture and he assigns Islamic art a lower rank than he does European art.[127] Kugler was the first to make art history a significant discipline of study. He writes a comprehensive summary about the basics of Islam, addressing its artistic legacy. The overall issue with an analysis of Kugler and his work is his lack of actual interaction with Islamic art. Kugler's *Handbuch*, although notable for its scope and mission, was not the most comprehensive source for Islamic art.

2.1.2 Carl Schnaase: *Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten* (1844)

Carl Schnaase wrote his *Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten* after the publication of Kugler's handbook, with the final volume published in 1864.[128] Schnaase never met Kugler in person; however, he dedicated his preface to him. He states: "It shouldn't surprise you then that I gladly dedicate this book to you. You were the first one to act upon the endeavor to summarize the extensive substance of art history and your handbook of art history has spread amongst friends some time ago."[129] Kugler's text was abridged compared to Schnaase's comprehensive eight volumes ending in the early Renaissance. Schnaase's text starts with a thorough discussion on philosophy and aesthetics, whereas Kugler saw his book as a useful

[123] "Dies ist der Mangel aller bildlichen Darstellung, vornehmlich der Darstellung menschlicher Figuren, welche in der Religion des Islam aufs Entschiedenste verboten war." Kugler, *Handbuch*, 395.
[124] Terry Allen, "Aniconism and Figural Representation in Islamic Art," in *Five Essays on Islamic Art*. (Sebastopol, CA: Solipsist Press, 1988), 17–37. See Eva Baer's extensive discussion on the human figure in Islamic art and portraiture. Eva Baer, *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Inheritances and Islamic Transformations* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2004). See also Kjeld von Folsach and Joachim Meyer, eds., *The Human Figure in Islamic Art: Holy Men, Princes, and Commoners* (Copenhagen: Strandberg Publishing, 2018).
[125] Kugler, *Handbuch*, 395.
[126] Avinoam Shalem, "Über die Notwendigkeit, zeitgenössisch zu sein: Die islamische Kunst im Schatten der europäischen Kunstgeschichte," in *Orient—Orientalistik—Orientalismus: Geschichte und Aktualität einer Debatte*, ed. Burkhard Schnepel, Gunnar Brands, and Hanne Schönig (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2011), 245–264, especially 249.
[127] Shalem, "Über die Notwendigkeit," 250.
[128] Karge, "Projecting the Future," 10.
[129] "Ein ungünstiger Zufall hat es mir bisher nicht gestattet, Sie, verehrter Herr Professor, persönlich kennen zu lernen, wohl aber sind wir uns auf dem gemeinsamen wissenschaftlichen Felde schon längst und immer in verwandtem Streben entgegengekommen. Da wird es Sie nicht überraschen, wenn ich in dankbarer Anerkennung Ihres rüstigen und fruchtbaren Wirkens und mannigfacher Belehrung Sie bitte, die Widmung dieses Buches freundlich anzunehmen." Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter* (Düsseldorf: Buddeus, 1844), vii.

tool for studying art history.[130] Schnaase writes that Kugler compares art history to an empire that is yet to be conquered, and describes his work as an attempt to make sense of a metaphorical kingdom of art history.[131] However, Schnaase had a different emphasis than Kugler did, and he examined the art of the past as an expression of physical, mental, moral, and intellectual uniqueness. According to Schnaase a work of art can only be comprehensively understood if one gains insight into the conditions of its origins. The art of different people represents a lasting tradition, and there is a connection that must be understood in detail in order for the individual periods of art to be correctly appreciated.[132] In Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildende Künste*, the chapter on Islamic art is different than Kugler's was in the *Handbuch*. Kugler emphasized a global knowledge of different artistic practices, whereas Schnaase devotes the first half of his chapter to Islamic theology and the history of the religion. Schnaase's observation of Islamic art is that Arabs belong to an ancient tribe of Near Eastern and Aramaic peoples, other examples of which are the Jews and the Phoenicians.[133] He states that fantasy and imagination empower the spiritual life of the Arabs, yet in his view they are unable to create a single artwork that encapsulates all the mysticism in their culture. In terms of the fine arts, the Arabs are less creative then their neighbors.[134] Concerning their architecture, he describes a common feature of flat roofs with low domes similar to molehills, and talks about the thin minarets appearing in greater or lesser numbers like slender rods.[135] Furthermore, regarding the Alhambra, in his fourth chapter, entitled

[130] Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," 26.

[131] "Über die Bestimmung Ihres Werkes giebt dieses selbst den deutlichsten Aufschluss. Sie bezeichnen sie aber auch im Vorworte ausdrücklich, indem Sie die Geschichte der Kunst mit einem Reiche vergleichen, dessen Eroberung uns noch beschäftige, in dem noch manche Steppen urbar zu machen, manche Wälder zu lichten seien, und bei welchem es daher wie ein Wagniss erscheine, schon jetzt ein behagliches geographisches Netz darüber zu legen, und Provinzen, Bezirke, Kreise und Weichbilder mit sauberen Farbenlinien zu sondern. Es sollte eine Karte dieses anziehenden Landes werden, eine vollständige, übersichtliche, klare, aber auch eine kritisch genaue und zuverlässige, welche dem Forschenden, der in einzelne Gebiete eindringen, dem Lernenden, welcher die Resultate solcher Bestrebungen sich aneignen wollte, sichere Ausgangspunkte, und eine möglichst untrügliche Anschauung des Ganzen gebe." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, ix.

[132] "Es schien mir ferner, dass die Kunst der verschiedenen Völker eine bleibende Tradition darstelle, dass ein Zusammenhang da sei, welcher verstanden werden müsse, ohne welchen auch die einzelnen Epochen nicht richtig gewürdigt werden könnten." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, x.

[133] "Die Araber gehören einem Völkerstamme an, den wir schon kennen gelernt haben, dem aramäischen, vorderasiatischen, dessen Eigentümlichkeiten sich bei Juden und Phöniciern am schärfsten aussprachen." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 321.

[134] "Für die bildenden Künste sind diese Völker weniger geschaffen, das ruhige Bild ist dieser Wunder nicht fähig, und erscheint der heiß glühenden Phantasie matt und kalt." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 321.

[135] "Dennoch bildete sich ein gemeinsamer Charakter der orientalisch-mohammedanischen Architektur aus, den wir schon bei den oberflächlichen Ansichten ihrer Städte wahrnehmen können. Neben den flachen Dächern, deren Einförmigkeit von niedrigen Kuppeln, wie die einer Ebene von Maulwurfshügeln, mehr herausgehoben als unterbrochen wird, stehen die dünnen Minarets in größerer oder geringerer Zahl, wie schlanke Stäbe, einsam von dem reinen östlichen Himmel sich ablösend." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 330.

"Spanischen Araber und die Türken," Schnaase states that the style of Moorish buildings in the neighboring African countries is closely related to that of the Spanish, but nowhere does it seem to have developed rich ornamentation. The decoration, he explains, is created through glazed bricks of different colors, which imitate the shape of colorful stones cut into the architecture.[136] To him, the design of the arabesque is not a direct imitation of nature but is reminiscent of certain plant forms. He writes that Islamic art embraces ornamental forms which were found in the nations and cultures which they conquered.[137] However, he does not develop a discussion of Islamic ornament either, merely stating a general observation.[138] At the end of his chapter on Islamic art, Schnaase concludes with a connection between Islamic and Jewish art. He considers Judaism's and Islam's artistic development to be similar because they are both monotheistic religions, and because both religions have deep intellectual and imaginative dimensions. The diversity of both religions and societies deserve attention. In relation to the visual arts, the Muslims attained a higher development and greater individuality of architecture than may be attributed to the Jews, and "the feeling of beauty, at least in the arabesque, was spirited and ingenious."[139] In Schnaase's view, the architecture from the Islamic world does not have a well-organized history due to a lack of historical records.[140] He

[136] "Der Styl maurischen Bauten in den benachbarten afrikanischen Reichen ist dem der spanischen nahe verwandt; indessen scheint er hier nirgends sich zu dem üppigen der Ornamentation erhoben zu haben. Die beliebteste Ausschmückung ist die, welche durch den Wechsel von Steinen oder glasierten Ziegeln verschiedener Farbe hervorgebracht wird, welche dann an den Bogen die Form des Steinschnitts nachahmen. Die Formen sind weniger leicht gehalten, wie in granada, und erinnern mehe an den altern Stil der spanischen Mohammedaner; der Hufeusenbogen, namentlich der spitz, ist vorherrschend. Eine höhere Ausbildung der maurischen Architektur über den Standpunkt der Bauten von Granada hinaus dürfen wir daher nicht annehmen, und müssen mit diesen die chronologische Reihe der spanisch-maurischen Bauten für abgeschlossen halten." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 416.

[137] "Aus allem diesem kann man schon Schließen, dass die Architektur der Mohammedaner auch nicht eine feste, wohlgegliederte Geschichte hat. Das an einer ursprünglichen und notwendigen Grundform fehlte, so konnte auch keine stätige und folgerechte Entwickelung sich bilden. Überall schloss ihre Kunst sich an die Formen an, welche sie bei den von ihnen besiegten Völkern vorfanden." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 332.

[138] "Diese Arabesken, wie man sie wegen ihrer Ausbildung durch die Araber genannt hat, bestehen niemals aus Nachahmungen von Naturgegenständen, sie erinnern nur zuweilen an Pflanzenformen, niemals an Thiergestalten, und meistens zeigen sie nur höchst künstliche und geschmackvolle Verschlingungen grader oder gebogener Linien oder Bänder. Wir werden unten versuchen, sie näher zu charakterisiren." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 331.

[139] "In Eingange dieser Buchs machte ich auf machte ich auf die Verwandtschaft der Arber mit den Juden aufmerksam; die Betrachtung ihrer künstlerischen Entwickelung und der innern Gründe derselben hat dies bestätigt. Es ist dieselbe Richtung des Monotheismus, des Gegensatzes zwischen einem geistig gedachten Gotte und der materiellen Natur, welche bei beiden ihr ganzes Wesen durchdringt und eine einseitige Schärfe des Verstandes neben einer gesteigerten Thätigkeit der Phantasie erzeugt. Aber auch die Verschiedenheit beider Völker verdient Beachtung. In Beziehung auf die bildende Kunst haben die Mohammedaner einen Vorzug; ihre Architektur erreichte eine höhere Entwickelung und größere Eigentümlichkeit, als wir der Juden zuschreiben dürfen, das Schönheitsgefühl äußerte sich wenigstens in der Arabeske lebhaft und geistreich." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 451–452.

[140] "Ueberdies aber ist der Mangel historischer Aufzeichnungen." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 332.

concludes that the Europeans could fill the gaps in the records. Since the Europeans were not allowed to enter holy sites, there are no saved drawings.[141] In the future, it was hoped that travel would bring more results because there is such variety in the Islamic art, in his view, with the exception of Spain.[142] The approach argued employed by Schnaase was to create a chronological and geographical survey, and begin with the various countries where the followers of Islam settled and where they merged the different forms of art with those of individual regions.[143]

There are several key methodological differences between Kugler and Schnaase. Both men attempted to write the first history of art by including non-European cultures, yet they both wrote from an Occidental perspective. Primarily, their publications focused on creating a whole history of art, and their texts are important contributions to the discipline of art history. Therefore, as Schnaase stated, their works complement one another and together each provides a different approach to art history. They individually approached the heart of the material in various ways, and Kugler's text inspired Schnaase to publish his.[144] However, Schnaase is clear that his text is a departure from Kugler's. While Kugler's handbook was primarily for the specialists or for advanced students, Schnaase's readership targeted the ordinary person.[145]

The world art surveys of the nineteenth century as introduced by Kugler and Schnaase struggled to include Islamic art in their world art. However, together Kugler's and Schnaase's texts offer early insight into the world and its many creative communities. German art historian Anton Heinrich Springer published his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* in 1855. He perceived art history by its objects and was highly critical of the methods used by Kugler and

---

[141] With the exception of French architect Pascal Coste. See, Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe: ou Monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1825* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1839).

[142] "Nur für einzelne Länder, namentlich für Spanien, können wir uns als vollständig unterrichtet ansehen, und die vorauszusetzende Aehnlichkeit des Entwickelungsganges kann uns auch für das Verständniss der muhamedanischen Kunst im Ganzen Anleitung geben." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 333.

[143] "In der finden wir in den verschiedenen Ländern, wo die Verehrer des Islam ansässig wurden, abweichende Formen, und müssen daher auch ihre Kunst zunächst in diesen einzelnen Gegenden aufsuchen. Im Ganzen und mit dem Vorbehalt nothwendiger Abweichungen können wir dabei dem Gange der muhamedanischen Eroberungen folgen, und so schon in dem geographischen Ueberblicke den Anfang chronologischer Ordnung machen." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 334.

[144] "Dies zeigt schon, wie ich annehmen konnte, dass unsere Arbeiten sich ergänzen, nicht sich ausschliessen. Denn Beides, was Sie gegeben haben und was ich beabsichtige, gehört zu dem Ganzen der Kunstgeschichte im höchsten Sinne des Wortes, aber dieses Ganze ist zu groß, als dass es schon jetzt von einem Werk umfasst werden könnte. Wir nähern uns auf verschiedenen Wegen die Mittelpunkte der Sache. Daher wirkte denn Ihr Buch ermuthigend auf mich, mit dem meinigen hervorzutreten, ich war beruhigt, weil das, was ich nicht leisten konnte, schon auf so vollständige, zweckmäßige Weise gegeben war." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, xi.

[145] "Meine Arbeit ist zunächst für die Laien bestimmt, und nur danach wünsche ich sie, beurtheilt zu auf sehen." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, xiv.

Schnaase. Springer advocated "formal knowledge and a total reconstruction of artwork."[146] However, he was equally as biased as his colleagues and painted a negative portrait of the Arabs, characterizing them as "wild sons of nomads" who did not have any patience for creativity because their landscape did not provide any stimulation.[147] Schnaase concluded that, while Islamic art deserves an important place in the history of art, the architecture shows a lack of ornament and an emptiness of form.[148]

According to Stefan Koppelkamm, Germany did not establish colonies in Africa and the South Pacific until the 1880s.[149] Compared to France or England, the Germany's colonized countries were not as active in helping it expand its empire.[150] However, there were additional German art historians who advocated the study of Islamic art, including the Orientalist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall (author of *Fundgruben des Orients* from 1809 to 1818), Jakob von Falke, Josef von Karabacek (Professor of History of the Orient at the University of Vienna), and Julius Lessing, the first director of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Berlin and the author of a book on Oriental carpets from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in 1877.[151] German publications on Islamic art slowly increased throughout the nineteenth century. Part of this growth was Julius Franz-Pasha, who moved to Egypt due to an illness, joined Egypt's public services as an engineer to become a court architect for the Viceroy Ismail Pasha, and published *Die Baukunst des Islam* in 1896.[152] By the end of the

[146] Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," 27.
[147] Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 119.
[148] "Diese Architectur entspricht daher im Ganzen wie in ihren Theilien dem Geiste des Islam, sie teilt diesen Vorzüge und zeigt sie im vortheilhaftesten Lichte. Sie nimmt in der Geschichte der Kunst, wie dieser in der Entwickelung der Menschheit, eine wichtige Stelle ein, wenn auch nur als Rückwirkung und Gegensatz. Denn in der wie die Vorzüge diese geistige Richtung teilt sie auch ihre Mängel. Denn wenn an dem Äußern der arabischen Gebäude anfangs ihre Einfachheit und Schmucklosigkeit imponiert, so fühlen wir bald die Leere des Formlosen und suchen nach einer weiteren Durchführung und Erfüllung. ... Wir bewegen uns zwischen den Extremen einer unausgebildeten Anlage und der bloßen Dekoration; die wichtige Verbindung doch organische Glieder fehlt. Während die Architektur die starre Notwendigkeit zur Freiheit hindern durchführen, dem bloß Dienenden und Zweckgemäßen die Gestalt des Organischen und Belebten vereinen soll, ist hier von vorne herein diese Aufgabe umgangen, die harte Notwendigkeit unvermittelt an den Luxus geknüpft. Wir finden das Erhabene (wiewohl nur in schwachen Anklängen) und das Angenehme in reichster Ausbildung, das Schöne hat eigentlich keine Stelle gefunden." Schnaase, *Geschichte*, 450–451.
[149] Stefan Koppelkamm, *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Axel Mendes, 2015), 22–23.
[150] Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 124.
[151] Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 118; Yuka Kadoi and Iván Szántó, eds., *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 112.
[152] Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, "Julius Franz-Pasha's *Die Baukunst des Islam* (*Islamic Architecture*) of 1887 as Part of the Manual of Architecture," in *Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXe siècle*, ed. Mercedes Volait. New ed. (Paris : Publications de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2013). Available online at: http://books.openedition.org/inha/4853.

early twentieth century, Islamic art and its research had gained a new appreciation in German academic art history institutes.[153]

2.2 New Mediums: Circulating Architecture and Ornament Knowledge

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a variety of new media and methods including lithographs, photographs, drawings, color prints, exhibitions, and world fairs further circulated Islamic architecture throughout Germany, England, and France. In addition to newly published resources, collecting practices also increased, which stemmed from an ethnological interest in 'exotic' societies and an interest in a new artistic inspiration. The 1851 Great Exhibition connected cultures from the East and West, influencing how museums would build large collections of decorative arts, crafts, and plaster casts with a focus on foreign civilizations, especially those of the Islamic and ancient worlds. These additional resources not only had a profound effect on travel but on secular and religious European architecture as well.

Earlier publications in the eighteenth century, such as Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architektur* from 1721, illustrated architectural monuments of the early modern period. Erlach's book included some ninety-three engraved plates in five parts.[154] It was translated in 1730 as *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture in the Representation of the Most Noted Buildings of Foreign Nations*. Book 1 includes twenty-two plates of ancient Jewish, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian, and Greek buildings, for example Solomon's temple and the Tower of Babel. Book 3 contains fifteen plates of Arab, Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, and Persian architecture, including the Mosque of Sultan Orcanus II in Bursa, and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul (Fig. 23). These plates show early examples of Arab and ancient Jewish architecture; however, the publication only offers brief historical accounts, short architectural perspectives, and some architectural elevations by the author. Erlach never traveled to any these places, and so relied on other authors' information and drawings.[155]

Following Erlach's publication, the intellectual arena regarding Islamic architecture during the nineteenth century expanded. The literature presented a European fascination with

[153] Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 125. See also, Andrea Lermer and Avinoam Shalem, eds., *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered* (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2010), 17–34, 35–64.
[154] Kristoffer Neville, "The Early Reception of Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur*," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 66, no. 2 (2007): 160–175, especially 160.
[155] Mark Crinson, *Empire-Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 18–20.

a new history of Islamic architecture and ornament especially for architects. Amateur photographers, artists, and writers from England and France journeyed across the Mediterranean and captured firsthand accounts of the art and architecture of the Middle East, thus leading to a greater comprehension of the region. In addition to the written descriptions, which captured the imagination of many readers in the nineteenth century, a widespread, cultural fascination with the Orient also evolved into an imperial agenda for many. Take, for example, Napoléon's multi-volume *Description de l'Egypt*, whose first volume appeared in 1809. The work was created by the French Commission on the Sciences and Arts of Egypt and was organized by Napoléon and included over 100 "specialists" to create a comprehensive text on Egypt.[156] *Description* is a collection of observations and research notes that had been made in Egypt during Napoleon's expedition from 1798 to 1801. The collection is a repository of maps, archeological discoveries, architectural drawings, and scientific treaties, and encompasses twenty-three volumes. Volumes 1–5 contain pictures of antiquities and hieroglyphs, volume 6 focuses on typography, volumes 7–8 cover Egypt as a "modern state," its art and architecture (with an examination of ornamental details found on its buildings), Arabic inscriptions, local coinage, and local dress. Three volumes cover the local wildlife and animals, and the remaining volumes contain detailed descriptions that accompany the plates presented in earlier volumes. Napoléon's French Commission on the Sciences and Arts of Egypt's large review project was made possible by military conquest, and architecture was treated as a subject but not its primary focus. And yet following the *Description*, future publications on architecture and ornament, though focusing solely on architecture, would not match the depth of this multivolume publication; they would include, however, a general introduction to the geography, culture, and history of the different Islamic empires. The geographic area that would be covered by these publications comprised southern Italy and Spain, Egypt, Syria, and Jerusalem, and these publications—put out in French, German, and English—would offer a broad range of material for architects and designers throughout the nineteenth century.

James Cavanah Murphy, an Irish-born architect, took his inspiration from the Spanish publication *Antigüedades Arabes de España*, which was a publication from the Royal

[156] Liza Oliver, "Blindness Materialized: Disease, Decay and Restoration in the Napoleonic *Description de l'Egypt* (1809–1828)," in *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, ed. Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 125–145.

Academy in Madrid. He published *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* in 1815.[157] This source focused specifically on The Great Mosque in Cordoba and on the Alhambra. Murphy's publication investigated two architectural examples, revealing their Hispano–Islamic-designed interiors and exteriors and construction. Murphy's plates included plans, elevations, and detailed wall ornament (Fig. 24), bringing these architectural monuments into wider circulation. A second important publication at this time was by Pascal Coste, a French architect and engineer known for his publication *Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire* in 1839 focusing on the architecture of Cairo. His first expedition to Egypt was from 1817 to 1822, where he was commissioned by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the ruler during the first half of the nineteenth century in Egypt.[158] The drawings in *Monuments du Kaire* include architecture, floor plans, scale and elevations, interior wall patterns, ancient monuments, and street scenes of the city (Fig. 25). The drawings were produced with pencil or watercolor in thirty-one folios. However, like many European visitors, he initially did not have access to mosques or other religious spaces, yet when Muhammad Ali Pasha asked him to design two mosques, he was indeed given access.[159] Reflecting on the growing taste for Islamic architecture, James Cavanah Murphy's and Pascal Coste's publications on Spain and Egypt, respectively, added to the dissemination of information regarding historical revival styles.

Another important publication was *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of The Alhambra* by British designer, architect, and theorist Owen Jones and French architect Jules Goury in 1836-1842. It contained details of the Alhambra Palace and became one of the most influential works on Islamic architecture to be published during the first half of the nineteenth century. Jones, on a Grand Tour in his early twenties to Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, met Goury, who was with the German architect Gottfried Semper while on his expedition. [160] Jones and Goury traveled to Egypt and Spain, and their publication, the result of their expedition, studied the interlacing geometric patterns which eventually allowed Jones to

[157] James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London, Cadell & Davies, 1815), 1. See also Lynda S. Mulvin, "A Pioneer of 'Moresque' Revival in Continental Europe: James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814)," in *Art in Translation* 11, no. 2 (2019): 148–180, especially 150.
[158] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Visual Transformation of Egypt during the Reign of Muhammad Ali," in *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2006), 109–130, especially 113.
[159] Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Drawing Knowledge: (Re-)Constructing History: Pascal Coste in Egypt," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 4, no. 2 (2015): 187–313, especially 289–294.
[160] Abraham Thomas, "Owen Jones and the Islamic World," in *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 143–163, especially 144.

develop theories of ornament and flat pattern.[161] Jones and Goury focused on architecture and polychrome ornament (Fig. 26). This was a landmark work not only due to its scale (it took a decade to print), but Jones drew all the original drawings on stones and printed them himself due to the advancement of chromolithography. This publication on the Alhambra and the production process set a new standard for the industry, making this manuscript an important source of Islamic architecture and a source for architects all throughout Europe.[162]

In addition to Jones and Goury's text, there were other sources published in 1842, including the work of German architect Friedrich Maximilian Hessemer, who documented his travels to Egypt and Italy, and published ornamental patterns in *Arabische und Alt-Italianische Bau-Verzierungen* (Fig. 27).[163] Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey's *Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue: Séville et Grenade, dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833* (1842) included his drawings and lithographs of Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. When Girault de Prangey began his first expedition to North Africa and Spain, he created onsite drawings, which were then developed into lithographs (Fig. 28). Architect James Wild traveled to Egypt with English artist Joseph Bonomi in 1842 (Wild was a resident in Cairo from 1842 to 1847), the two of them together producing hundreds of drawings, watercolors, and notebooks, including many that are in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum.[164] One can assume that these notebooks were a reliable source for designers and architects (Fig. 29).[165] Wild designed a church in London with eclectic elements that merged Byzantine and Islamic forms, and he built St. Mark's Church in Egypt. There were also David Roberts's travels to the south of Spain, Cairo, and Nubia between 1833 and 1847, which inspired him to complete 122 views of his travels between 1842 and 1844. Roberts was born in Scotland, and trained as a decorative and scenic painter for the circus and theater. He left for London in 1838, ultimately planning for his expedition to Spain, then Egypt, and then the Holy Land

[161] Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra from Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 and 1837* (London, 1842); Stacey Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 3 (2008): 223–236, especially 225.
[162] Kathryn Ferry, "Printing the Alhambra: Owen Jones and Chromolithography," *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 175–188. See Thomas, "Owen Jones and the Islamic World," 147–149.
[163] Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, eds., *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, 2 Vols. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), 1208.
[164] Bernard O'Kane, "James Wild and the Mosque of Bashtak, Cairo," in *The Arts of Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact*, ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2012), 163–182, especially 164–165.
[165] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 102, 248. Owen Jones used Wild's drawings in *The Grammar of Ornament* in 1856, and they were published in Edward Lane's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* in 1871.

(Fig. 30).[166] Roberts's initial travel abroad lasted eleven months. In 1832, he first traveled to Italy and southern Spain to copy Moorish architecture, leaving with 200 drawings and sketches. The drawings were published in four volumes: *Granada*, *Andalusia*, *Biscay and Castile,* and *Spain and Morocco*. In October 1838, he embarked for Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine before returning back to London. Roberts produced over 300 drawings, which were later converted into lithographs and paintings, capturing archeological sites, mosques, bazaars, porticos, interior wall decoration, and panoramas documenting the diversity in ancient Middle Eastern architecture. His drawings are one of the many important publications to come out during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Swiss-Italian architects and brothers Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati were trained in Italy and sent from Moscow to Istanbul to construct the Russian embassy in 1837, a mandate that was followed by other commissions.[167] Sultan Abdul Medjid commissioned them from 1847 to 1849 to restore the interior decoration in the entrance to the Hagia Sophia after a period of decay (Fig. 31).[168] While preserving the structure was paramount, the Fossatis discovered a Justinian mosaic wall ornament, prepared drawings and lithographs of their findings, and completed the project interior, dedicating the publication of their work to the Sultan in 1852. James Wild, David Roberts, Owen Jones, Girault de Prangey, and the Fossati brothers produced prolific visual work during the period. British, French, and other European artists from the nineteenth century surveyed Arab cityscapes and landscapes, and created plates that highlighted either sections of walls or architectural exteriors with one or no trace of a person, underlining the architectural greatness they encountered.

2.2.1 Photographing Architecture and Archeology

Photography was a new medium in the nineteenth century, and it added a modern way to capture the Middle East's landscape from Cairo to Jerusalem. Early cameras had long exposures in their early processes, offering abundant volumes of architectural examples.[169] Two photographic processes were developed that facilitated the recording of images. Louis

[166] Debra N. Mancoff, ed., *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Communications, Inc., 1999), 10–22. See also Nicholas Tromans, ed., *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), 102–103.
[167] Crinson, *Empire-Building*, 136, 230. See also Jonathan Bloom and Shelia S. Blair, eds., *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 324.
[168] Philipp Niewöhner and Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The South Vestibule of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul: The Ornamental Mosaics and the Private Door of the Patriarchate," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 117–156, especially 124.
[169] Micheline Nilsen, ed. *Nineteenth-Century Photographs and Architecture: Documenting History, Charting Progress, and Exploring the World* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Jacques Mande Daguerre in Paris, the creator of the daguerreotype, and William Henry Fox Talbot in London, the creator of the paper negative, contributed to the increase in the number and in the circulation of images.[170] In 1839, Louis Daguerre presented the daguerreotype to the French Parliament, and in the opening remarks the mathematician and astronomer Francois Arago noted that it was a valuable method for Egyptologists and Orientalists to use to record images.[171] Arago suggested that all institutions should have a daguerreotype when collecting information concerning the Middle East.[172] In the *Gazette de France*, an advertisement for the daguerreotype was published stating that, "for a few hundred francs travelers may perhaps soon be able to procure M. Daguerre's apparatus, and bring back views of the finest monuments and of the most delightful scenery of the whole world."[173] This new technology was portable and beneficial for expeditions to the East and enabled Europeans to travel around Spain, Palestine, and the Middle East, capturing the local architecture and ornament, archeological fragments, and city panoramas. Photography of architecture and archeology from medieval Spain included unique examples of Romanesque, Gothic, and Nasrid specimens and attracted over fifty foreign photographers from 1848 to 1860 with more than 100 books published on Spain alone during the period, and by the 1850s the number of journals dedicated to the medium of photography increased significantly.[174]

Girault de Prangey traveled to Spain, Sicily, Tunisia, and Algeria between 1832 and 1834, and when he returned from this trip he planned a second expedition in 1842 to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Greece, and Anatolia with a daguerreotype.[175] Throughout his travels, he produced some of the earliest photographic material of Islamic and Mediterranean

[170] Kathleen Stewart Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1997), 20–21.
[171] Ali Behadad, *Camera Orientalis*: *Reflections on Photography of the Middle East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 2.
[172] Behadad, *Camera Orientalis*, 3.
[173] Claire L. Lyons, John K. Papadopoulos, Lindsey S. Stewart, and Andrew Szegedy-Masza, eds., *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005). See also Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, *L. J. M. Daguerre (1787–1851): The World's First Photographer* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1956), 82–83.
[174] Nilsen, *Nineteenth-Century Photographs and Architecture*, 203; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and His Times," *October* 18 (1981), 90–107, especially 90.
[175] *Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue, Seville et Grenade* (Part I) was published in 1836, followed by Parts 2 and 3 in 1839. In 1841 he published an essay as an addition to his work, and then in 1842 he published *Choix d'ornaments moresques de Alhambra*. See Sylvie Aubenas, "The Odyssey of an Artist and His Work," in *Monumental Journey: The Daguerreotypes of Girault de Prangey*, ed. Stephen C. Pinson (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019), 1–8, especially 2.

cities.[176] The existence of his daguerreotypes is unique, since he was the first to use the method, making him a forerunner of architecture and archeology photography. Some of his most important works include *Dome of Khayrbak Mosque in Cairo* (Fig 32) from 1843, which shows interlacing, tapestry-like carvings on the exterior surface. De Prangey's use of photographic methods capture Islamic architecture from Spain to Palestine, and through his documentation of monuments and surfaces he was a contributor to the increasing landscape of knowledge developing in France. French amateur photographers included Auguste Salzmann and Maxime du Camp, who traveled separately to Egypt and Jerusalem, documenting architectural inscriptions in the mid-1850s.[177] In 1854, Salzmann, a French painter and archeologist, produced over 200 negatives while visiting Jerusalem. He photographed all religious sites belonging to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, highlighting many examples of ancient architecture. Salzmann created two photographic works, one of Jerusalem (Fig. 33) and another of frescos from an ancient cemetery in Greece.[178] As for Du Camp, he traveled with the then unknown writer Gustave Flaubert, for a publication entitled *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie: Dessins photographiques recueillis pendant les années 1849, 1850 et 1851*.[179]

In Britain, photographers were also exploring the Middle East due to new technological capabilities. Key photographers included Francis Frith, Francis Bedford, and James Graham. British photographers had a slightly different interest than their French peers, as their images were mainly of religious sites throughout the Holy Land. Visiting cities within the Holy Land became an essential undertaking for those on Grand Tours, who had a greater interest in documenting the "biblical landscape."[180] Prior to photographic assistance, the Holy Land was a fascination and sparked peoples' interest in sacred landscapes. Before travel was more common, there were panoramas that could transport audiences to different locations like Jerusalem or Egypt, which were particularly popular in England and then

[176] Martina Rugiadi, "Framing an Islamic Art," in *Monumental Journey: The Daguerreotypes of Girault de Prangey*, ed. Stephen C. Pinson (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019), 157–163, 219–222, especially 157; Lyons et al., *Antiquity and Photography*, 91.
[177] Bloom and Blair, *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art & Architecture*, 117.
[178] Solomon-Godeau, "A Photographer in Jerusalem," 93.
[179] Gustave Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, trans. Francis Steegmuller (London: Penguin Books, 1972), 214.
[180] *Simon Goldhill, "Imperial Landscapes, the Biblical Gaze, and Techniques of the Photo Album," in The Buried Life of Things: How Objects Made History in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 64–108, especially 64–66.*

eventually the United States.[181] Francis Frith made three excursions to Egypt, Palestine, and other areas of the Near East in 1856, 1857, and 1859, and his photographs capture Egyptian monuments such as the pyramids and other colossal architecture, emphasizing their scale by depicting figures next to them, as seen in his photographs of the Mosque of Kait Bey in Cairo and the Alhambra in Granada (Fig. 34).[182] Photographer Francis Bedford traveled with the Prince of Wales on his tour of the Holy Land in 1862. His affiliation with the Anglican Church enabled him to use the camera to prove aspects of the Bible.[183] Upon Bedford's return to England, *The Illustrated London News* noted "the great beauty of the specimens brought home, and the general success of Mr. Bedford when working in the East, in the face of obstacles of various kinds which would have discouraged a less persevering artist, proves that the choice was well made."[184] Photography was a versatile medium, and documented architectural and ornamental details as well as archeological ruins on the edge of decay. European photographers could also produce images en masse for a variety of consumers abroad and as souvenirs after trips. Photographs of the Middle East were exhibited during the second half of the nineteenth century in Vienna and Paris.[185] The monuments and panoramas featured in these publications disseminated information for European travelers and artists, and, later, travelers from the Unites States. As photography enabled a new mode of pictorial representation of the Islamic East, these nineteenth-century images acted as a source of information about exploration, exoticism, and the existence of a new geography.

2.2.2 Design Reform and the Great Exhibition of 1851

Concurrent with emerging advances in photography was a significant transformation in the pedagogy within art schools and the incorporation of ornamental drawing as an important skill for improving design across England. Henry Cole, one of the most influential education reformers to improve the standards within the design industry in the 1840s and 1850s. He was Superintendent of the Schools of Design for twenty-one years and headed the Department of Practical Art and the Department of Science and Art, a central institution of the reformed

[181] Amy F. Ogata, "Viewing Souvenirs: Peepshows and the International Expositions," *Journal of Design History* 15, no.2 (2002): 69–82, especially 69; John Davis, "Panoramic Imagery in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 53–72, especially 53.
[182] Lyons et al., *Antiquity and Photography*, 99.
[183] Behadad, *Camera Orientalis*, 4; Sophie Gordon and Badr El-Hage, *Cities, Citadels and Sights of the Near East* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 14–17.
[184] Gordon and El-Hage, *Cities, Citadels and Sights*, 19.
[185] Behadad, *Camera Orientalis*, 4–6; *Goldhill, "Imperial Landscapes," 71–72.*

Schools of Design, founded in 1852 and renamed in 1853.[186] Cole and his circle of advocates were dedicated to the improvement of industrial standards, and they were interested in the development of a new education pedagogy that could produce better design principles that would be merged with a morally based focus on estheticism.[187] By the mid-nineteenth century, new materials and publications were distributed, and there was an urgency to consider ornament more systematically.[188] In 1849, Cole created a monthly publication called the *Journal of Design and Manufactures* in which Owen Jones, Matthew Digby Wyatt, and Gottfried Semper published texts.[189] The purpose of the publication was to "educate the manufacturer," promote better copyright for designed products, and improve the Schools of Design. Ultimately, the goal was to produce a new generation of trained students.[190] The publication was to recognize and support the government's Schools of Design, exhibitions relating to ornamental design and manufacture, and other institutions in the United Kingdom. As stated in the first volume from 1849, the journal aimed to highlight the growing interest relating to the production of ornamental design from all manufacturers and with respect to all materials, from metal to fabrics and architecture.[191] While other countries seemed to be ahead of British manufacturing, the journal's objective was that ornamental design become recognized as a main characteristic of British manufacturers.

A second significant event at this time was the attendance of thirty-two nations at the first international exhibition, organized by Henry Cole and Prince Albert. The Great Exhibition of 1851 featured thousands of objects and included the most recent designs, furniture, appliances, and textiles representing "good design." The Great Exhibition called attention to the decorative arts from other European countries and the East, presenting them to a public audience. Following the exhibition, the Museum of Ornamental Art (later renamed the Victoria & Albert Museum in London) was established in 1852, and exhibited objects from the Great Exhibition in addition to other objects. It established a museum collection

[186] Gillian Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of its Sources, Ideals and Influence on Design Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), 18. Quentin Bell, *The Schools of Design* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,1963), 253. Elizabeth Bonython Anthony Burton, *The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London, V&A Publications, 2003), 111.
[187] Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, 19.
[188] Isabella Frank, ed., *The Theory of Decorative Art: An Anthology of European and American Writings 1750–1940* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2000), 2–5.
[189] Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, 19. Bell, *Schools of Design*, 219-220 Bonython and Burton, *The Life and Work of Henry Cole*, 112-113.
[190] Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, 19. Bonython and Burton, *The Life and Work of Henry Cole*, 113.
[191] *Journal of Design* 1, no. 1 (1849): 1–2.

grounded in ornament from all kinds of objects, plaster casts, and architectural fragments.[192] Plaster casts were essential resources to study ornament, and these molds were distributed throughout museums across England for future students of design and manufacturing.[193] The importance of the design reform in England and success of the Museum of Ornamental Art inaugurated by Henry Cole would continue to influence other institutions such as the Museum für Angewandte Kunst (K.K. Museum für Kunst and Industrie) in Vienna in 1864.[194] The DSA distributed drawing manuals were distributed by published by Chapman & Hall, who were known for making many pamphlets on drawing that were considered useful for all practitioners, artists, and students.[195] Drawing books and manuals were in great supply by the 1840s and 1850s, and drawing evolved from a sophisticated art form to a necessary aspect of design reform education for all students, extending the instruction available in drawing manuals rooted in the Industrial Revolution—for example, George Adams's *Geometrical and Graphical Essays* (1791), Joshua Jopling's *The Practice of Isometrical Perspective* (1833), and Peter Sopwith's *Treatise of Isometrical Drawing* (1834).[196] In the 1840s, one key publication was William Dyce's *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design; or, Elementary Outlines of Ornament*; it was published in 1842 but not available for wide circulation until 1854 (Fig. 35).[197] Dyce was trained as a painter and part of the formation of the School of Design, he also wrote and lectured on ornament design with a key lecture taking place in 1849.[198] The purpose of Dyce's *The Drawing Book* is stated as follows:

> The object of the following work is twofold: in the first place, to serve as an elementary drawing-book for schools, and in particular for those schools whose

[192] Suga Yasuko, "Designing the Morality of Consumption: 'Chamber of Horrors' at the Museum of Ornamental Art, 1852–53," *Design Issues* 20, no. 4 (2004): 43–56, especially 48.
[193] Miriam Rosser-Owen, "The Casts of Islamic Ornament," in *The Cast Courts*, ed. Angus Patterson and Marjorie Trusted (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2018), 18–21.
[194] Mathew Rampley, "Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Technology, Aesthetic and Ideology," *Journal of Design History* 23, no. 3 (2010): 247–264, especially 247–248. See also Rebecca Houze, *Textiles, Fashion and Design Reform in Austria-Hungary before the First World War: Principles of Dress* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 47–48. Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2.
[195] Rafael Cardoso, "A Preliminary Survey of Drawing Manuals in Britain 1825–1875," in *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays*, ed. Mervyn Romans (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005), 19–32, especially 20.
[196] David Brett, "Drawing and the Ideology of Industrialization," *Design Issues* 3, no. 2 (1986): 59–72, especially 59.
[197] Cardoso, "A Preliminary Survey," 24. Bell, *The Schools of Design*, 87-88.
[198] William Dyce, 'Lecture on Ornament Delivered to the Students of the London School of Design,' April 1849. Elena Chestnova, "Ornamental design is… a kind of practical science' Theories of ornament at the London School of Design and Department of Science and Art," *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014), 7-8.

> ultimate purpose is to educate young persons in the art of inventing and executing patterns and designs for the various branches of ornamented manufacture; and in the second place, to be a handbook of ornamental art, for the use and guidance of manufacturers and pattern draughtsmen.[199]

The publication was divided into two principal parts; one referencing the study of design, and the other as an application to industry. The first part contains a series of lessons in drawing, which would instruct students to make copies of designs on paper, which would lead to a collection of designs that were created. The second part of the book is a collection of designs that references different styles of ornament. Dyce states that "geometrical drawing is used by ornamentists in the preparation of designs for diaper-work, applicable to pavements, inlaid wood, metal work, damasks, silks etc., and in general for all kinds of manufacture in which the pattern is repeated at regular intervals."[200] Dyce's publication illustrated curvilinear, rounded, and straight lines, and drawing exercises that included complicated repetitive diagonal patterns creating lattice configurations. These ideas were further developed by Richard Redgrave and Owen Jones. David Ramsey Hay published *An Essay on Ornamental Design: Its Principles* in 1844 (Fig. 36), which includes an essay on ornament and a series of principles followed by diagrams on linear ornament and diaper designs. While this manual was not distributed under the DSA, David Ramsey Hay was an artist and theorist who also published material on art's nature and art design.[201] The aim of the illustrations was to be useful to all branches of art that engage with ornament, and the examples in Hay's publication are influenced from patterns, for example, in the Alhambra, which he states is the most beautiful piece of architecture.[202] In addition to drawing manuals, publications that investigated form and ornament were published after the Great Exhibition, and they included Richard Redgrave's *Supplementary Report on Design*, Digby Wyatt's *Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century*, and Semper's *Wissenschaft, Industrie and Kunst*.[203] Next were Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* and Ralph Wornum's *Analysis of Ornament*, both of which were published in 1856, and Richard Redgrave's *Manual of Design*, which was published in 1876. Redgrave analyzed elements of style that originated from construction to decoration.

---

[199] William Dyce, *The Drawing Book: The Government School of Design* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1842), i.
[200] *Dyce*, *The Drawing Book*, i.
[201] Spyros Papapetros, "Ornament as Weapon: Ballistics, Politics, and Architectural Adornment in Semper's Treatise on Ancient Projectiles," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 46–61, especially 50.
[202] David Ramsey Hay, *An Essay on Ornamental Design: With an Attempt to Develop Its Principles, and to Point out an Easy Method of Acquiring Facility in its Practice* (London: D. Bogue, 1844), 1–3.
[203] Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, 21.

The aim of these publications was to educate practitioners about ornament, and inspire manufacturers as well as the general public.

Design reform, the Great Exhibition, and ornamental drawing manuals were significant in the transmission of information about ornament found on all surfaces, from decorative objects to architectural plaster casts. In addition, the European fascination with the Orient, new technological capabilities such as the daguerreotype, and the ability to publish written accounts on the many regions of the Islamic world provided unprecedented access to new information. Whether imperialistically motivated or not, the plates, drawings, lithographs, and photographs created an ability to go beyond picturesque scenes and find a vision in new architectural forms that could be widely circulated, diversifying European architecture (secular or religious) and cityscapes influenced by these new developments, important among which was the study of Islamic architecture.

2.3 Conclusion: A Change in Ornament

The nineteenth century witnessed a massive expansion of the printed medium. The volume of printed matter was extraordinarily large, encompassing everything from surveys to photography. The exploration of Islamic art in German-speaking countries before World War I was limited, and it was not until the end of the century that the study of the Islamic world gained significant academic importance.[204] Prior to the nineteenth century, the intellectual interaction between the German-speaking and Oriental worlds was under the shadow of the British and French.[205] German Orientalists were interested in the interpretation of biblical texts and language rather than colonialism, and less attention was placed on the art and architecture of the Orient.[206] However, Franz Kugler and Karl Schnaase were the first to publish early surveys of art history and architecture in Germany. Eventually, architects from

[204] Hagedorn, "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany," 125; Annemarie Schimmel, "Islamic Studies in Germany: A Historical Overview," *Islamic Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 401–410. Hagedorn forgets to mention in her examination nineteenth-century Jewish Orientalist Ignác Goldziher or German Orientalist Theodor Nöldeke or the development of the Oriental-style synagogues, which originated in Germany. See also Harold Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung und 20. Jahrhunderts (1780–1933*), 2 Vols. (Hamburg: H. Christians, 1981); and John Efron, "Writing Jewish History: The Construction of a Glorious Sephardic Past," in *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 190–230.

[205] James Hodkinson and Shawn Walker, "Introduction," in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. James Hodkinson, Shawn Walker, Shaswati Mazumder, and Johannes Feichtinger *(*Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 1–14, especially 7.

[206] Todd Kontje, "Germany's Local Orientalisms" in James Hodkinson, ed., *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe* (Rochester: Camden House, 2013), 55–77, especially 57; Hagedorn, *The Development of Islamic Art History*, 117.

German-speaking countries, especially those who attended the architecture academies in Berlin or in Stuttgart, were part of a network of architects whose creative interests were in the Moorish style, thus experimenting with a revival of styles. For example, Karl Ludwig von Zanth designed the Villa Wilhelma, which was created between 1842 and 1865 and which was one of the first Moorish Revival architectural examples in Germany.[207] Publications from Germany, France, and England contributed to information which shaped how knowledge of historic styles of architecture was conceived. All these new resources collectively caused a transformation in how architectural projects came to fruition, ultimately allowing architects to incorporate a variety of forms into their work, create diverse buildings, and master new knowledge.

Access to decorative information presented a means for architects to adopt motifs and patterns in all types of inventive architecture remarkably found in synagogue interiors originating in Germany. The art and architecture of the Islamic world had a critical impact on the development of synagogue interiors, and leading architects would be inspired by the Islamic forms, combinations of color, and geometric varieties. For example, James Cavanagh Murphy's above-mentioned publication was distributed to libraries in Germany, which included those in Stuttgart, Munich, Heidelberg, and Dresden in 1816, which is significant, considering one of the earliest Islamic-styled synagogues was built in Dresden in 1838.[208] Therefore, it is important to contextualize Islamic architecture publications, since many of the architects who would build the new Oriental-styled synagogues in the post-emancipation period were educated in either Berlin or Vienna.[209] This further demonstrates the importance of the materials that architects engaged with when crafting their designs in all categories, religious or secular, and these publications included Islamic art in a new narrative of art history and material culture.[210] Therefore, architecture publications, surveys, and expeditions to the East were fundamental in transmitting Islamic ornament to the West and incorporating

[207] Francine Giese, "An Inclination of Moorish Style: Architects and Networks in Nineteenth Century Germany," in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective*, ed. Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2018), 225–245.
[208] Mulvin, "A Pioneer of 'Moresque' Revival," 160
[209] Francine Giese, "An Inclination for Moorish Style: Architects and Networks in 19th Century Germany," in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective*, ed. Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2018), 225–244, especially 225.
[210] For example, Girault de Prangey traveled to Spain, Sicily, Algeria, Tunisia, Damascus, and Cairo in 1832, and in 1842 he published *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie d'Asie-Mineure*. See also Stephen C. Pinson, ed., *Monumental Journey: The Daguerreotypes of Girault de Prangey* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019), 157–163. In 1838–1839, British artist David Roberts traveled t through Egypt and Syria. Mancoff, *David Roberts: Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*, 24–38, 108–120.

it into the construction process. By 1856, sources also examined Islamic ornament, and other historical periods of artistic traditions were transmitted through the publications of large handbooks or "grammars" such as Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament*. Sources would become crucial literature for the decoration of architecture interiors. Encyclopedic in nature, sources reinterpreted historic styles, introducing decorative compositions in a new way. The ornament publications decontextualized Islamic ornament from the architecture, dividing it into sections, and applying decoration as a flat pattern. Orientalist structures became a means for a revival of historic examples of ornament. As a consequence of travel, dissemination, and exploration, the architectural forms, motifs, and patterns of the Islamic world entered into the Western decorative vocabulary.

Chapter 3
Nineteenth-Century Synagogues: Europe and North America

3.1 An Ornamental Evolution

The William L. Gross Collection in Tel Aviv is made up of nearly 400 synagogue postcards, and is a comprehensive resource that lends itself well to evaluating the many synagogue styles that existed until 1938. At the end of the nineteenth century, postcards were a popular pursuit, and for a while such pursuit was known as the "postcard craze." After all, postcards were an easy and affordable way to send messages.[211] They were sent from Europe to America and vice versa, and their topics were broad, including sports, political figures, animals, and the theater. Specifically Jewish topics included historic Jewish neighborhoods, holiday commemorations, portraits of rabbis, and synagogues.[212] The Gross Collection of postcards is an important archive that contains a great deal of evidence about European and American Jewish communities and their houses of worship. The collection was formed through the acquisition of memorabilia from bookshops, print and antique shops, and flea markets for over fifty years, with each item serving as a window into a distant Jewish community.[213] In addition to the postcards, the Gross Collection holdings also include over 15,000 volumes of Jewish books and manuscripts and hundreds of pieces of silver and gold ritual objects from countries all over the Middle East, and Europe, including Iran, Israel, Yemen, Italy, Hungary, Germany, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Romania, further serving as evidence of the sizable communities that existed.

The postcards, with scribbled messages on their backs and sides, which are often illegible, present documentation of—and thus insight into—the lives and customs of the people in these cities, towns, and villages. This collection portrays an understanding not only of nineteenth-century Jewish culture in general, but of synagogue architecture and ornament as well during this period. While these ephemeral documents were initially intended as a way for families and friends to share images of their surroundings, these postcards eventually

[211] Julian Ralph, "The Postal-Card Craze," *Cosmopolitan*, February 1902, 421; Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Postcard America: Curt Teich and the Imaging of a Nation 1931–1950* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 15–16; Leonard Pitt, *Paris Postcards: The Golden Age* (Gloucestershire, UK: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2016), 28.
[212] Shalom Sabar, *Past Perfect: The Jewish Experience in Early 20th Century Postcards* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1997), 5–6.
[213] Shalom Sabar, *Windows on Jewish Worlds: Essays in Honor of William Gross, Collector of Judaica* (Zutphen: Walberg Pers, 2019), 17–19; Ron Grossman, "Historic Papers Speak to Collector of Judaica," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2003.

became a testament to the many buildings constructed during the nineteenth century. As discussed above in Chapter 1, synagogues from the pre-emancipation period were wooden or stone structures, had polychrome interiors, were on the small side (in comparison to their modern counterparts), and were built on the peripheries of cities. In the nineteenth century, however, synagogues mostly stood in city centers as monolithic temples displaying an assortment of architectural codes oscillating between Egyptian, Assyrian, Byzantine, and Moorish and including slender minarets, horseshoe arches, rosary windows, and domed roofs.[214]

The synagogue photographs featured on these postcards show the exteriors or interiors of these synagogues with images in color or black and white, with some exteriors in polychrome brick with varying hues of red or brown or neutral stucco surfaces. One example (Fig. 37) includes the Polish synagogue in Tarnów, which was built in 1865 and destroyed in 1939. The postcard illustrates an interior illuminated in predominantly gold ornamentation with colossal multifoil scalloped arches which separate the interior sections from the women's gallery above. The domed roof is in blue, green, and red overlay with large gold interlinking curved lines forming a repetitive pattern. The Sarajevo Synagogue, which was built in 1901, shows the interior view facing the *bimah* and *aron*. The *aron* is framed with a large scalloped horseshoe arch decorated with blue and gold Hebrew text. The wall patterns are constructed from intricate geometric patterns painted with a blue and red pattern of Moorish ornament, and the walls framing the arch and panels reveal richly painted ornament in gold and dark red. A third example is the Jerusalem (also known as the Jubilee) Synagogue in Prague. It was built in 1906 by the Austrian architect Wilhelm Stiassny; the exterior is made out of polychrome stucco in red and tan and features a large horseshoe arch in the center, which is painted with a bright blue. The slender window frames are painted bright green, revealing a unique color scheme and Art Nouveau characteristics. These postcards illustrate a unique interpretation of Islamic ornament within the synagogues located in the Balkans, Poland, and the Czech Republic**.** The postcards not only reflect a new emancipated status, a modern society, and, changes in urbanization, but they ultimately reveal a transnational evolution in architectural and ornamental interiors. The Gross Collection is not only proof of the former, but it is also a vital source of photographic and archival evidence of

[214] Rudolf Klein, *Synagogues of Hungary* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017), 263; Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964).

the latter, its numerous architectural examples illustrating the synagogue architectural and ornamental changes quite clearly.

This chapter focuses on select synagogue buildings in Europe and North America. Once inside them, those who entered the synagogues were enveloped by illuminated and polychrome surfaces. The buildings selected for this research are in Budapest, Prague, Ohio, and New York, thus generating a transcontinental examination of Islamic influence in synagogue design. These architectural examples reflect the aesthetic interest in Islamic ornamental forms but also evoke an imagined architectural reconstruction of biblical architecture, the most famous example of which is perhaps Solomon's Temple.[215] The synagogue case studies explore the variety and use of geometric and arabesque motifs, investigating the application of ornamental surfaces in Oriental-style synagogues. Some of the selected buildings show the various ornamental characteristics that are still in existence today.

3.2 Destroyed Synagogues: The Dresden and Vienna Synagogues

A selection of destroyed synagogues are an important source of evidence of the pre-emancipation to post-emancipation architectural transformation that saw the incorporation of Islamic revival styles. Synagogues of particular importance were located in Dresden and Vienna, and displayed a remarkable use of Islamic ornament and architecture. The Dresden Synagogue was envisioned by Gottfried Semper, a German architect who was eventually forced into political exile in 1849.[216] One of his early commissions was the Dresden Synagogue, which was constructed between 1838 and 1840 (Fig. 38). The foundation stone of the Dresden Synagogue was placed on June 21, 1838, and on May 8, 1840, over a 1,000 people attended the opening.[217] While Semper's synagogue is seen as a minor commission

[215] Carole Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 81.

[216] Gottfried Semper, *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave and Michael Robinson (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 2004), 12; Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, *Gottfried Semper (1803–1879): Die Entwürfe zur dekorativen Kunst* (Petersberg: M. Imhoff, 2010); Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, "Gottfried Semper's Dresden Synagogue Revised: An Echo of the Alhambra?" in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective*, ed. Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 139–151.

[217] "Der Grundstein zu dem Gebäude wurde am 21. Juni 1838 gelegt im Januar 1840 erfolgte die Einweihung dieses Gotteshauses, der über 1000 Menschen schen Menschen die größte Personenzahl, welche das Gebäude fassen kann beiwohnten. Die Zahl der Sitzplätze beträgt 500, und zwar 200 in den beiden Frauengalerien und 300 in dem unter die Mittelschiffe nebst den beiden Seitenschiffen." Gottfried Semper, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1847, 127 (this and the following translations are my own unless otherwise noted). See also John M. Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 136.

within his wider oeuvre and architectural legacy, this building is important for synagogue history because it was the first such structure to introduce an interior with Islamic ornament.[218] While there were other examples of Islamic influences on synagogue architecture, these came to be used only on the exteriors of the buildings and not the interiors. In 1832, German architects Friedrich von Gärtner and August von Voit designed a synagogue in Ingenheim, Germany, with horseshoe arches, but the interior was Neoclassical.[219]

A substantial amount of the archival information concerning the Dresden Synagogue was destroyed in 1938 when the synagogue was burned during Kristallnacht also known as Reichskristallnacht. However, a few surviving photographs and drawings show the interior design.[220] Illustrations of the Dresden interior feature ornamental designs for the upper women's gallery walls (Fig. 39), displaying alternating decorative panels with repeating six-pointed stars and narrow zig-zag motifs framing a star pattern. The second drawing (Fig. 40) is a watercolor-and-ink drawing indicating a cross-section of the interior from the entrance. This illustration, verified by a photograph (Fig. 41) taken in 1898, is on the wall behind the *aron* or ark, and is decorated with a circular and diamond grid in blues and browns as described in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (Fig. 42) as "Moorish-Byzantine." The entablatures on the upper gallery tiers were painted with a wood paneling mimicking an inlaid design with darker and lighter wood. The columns, which are similar to those of the Alhambra, were painted with dark gray and green (Fig. 43).[221] Other drawings illustrate the floor plans, scale, and the interior dome, which was painted in blue with stars referencing the celestial heavens.[222] Although Semper himself never visited the Alhambra, he may have had access to

[218] "Das darüber befindliche Gebälk und die Brüstungen sind holzartig und wie mit eingelegter Arbeit von dunklerem und hellerem Holze dekoriert; ebenso sind auch die Wände und Pfeiler bis auf Mannshöhe so gehalten, als wären sie mit einer Holztäfelung versehen; weiter hinauf sind sie dunkelgraugrün und mit maurisch -byzantinischen Mustern verziert." Semper, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1847, 127.
[219] Hannelore Künzl, "Nineteenth Century Synagogues in the Neo-Islamic Style," *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 8 (1981): 71–78, 73–74; Orelli-Messerli, "Gottfried Semper's Dresden," 140.
[220] Heidrun Laudel, 'Synagogue Dresden', in Winfried Nerdinger and Werner Oechslin, *Gottfried Semper 1803–1879* (Munich: Prestel, 2003), 183.
[221] "Das darüber befindliche Gebälk und die Brüstungen sind holzartig und wie mit eingelegter Arbeit von dunklerem und hellerem Holze dekoriert; ebenso sind auch die Wände und Pfeiler bis auf Mannshöhe so gehalten, als wären sie mit einer Holztäfelung versehen; weiter hinauf sind sie dunkelgraugrün und mit maurisch -byzantinischen Mustern verziert." Semper, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1847, 127; Heinz-Joachim Aris and Nora Goldenbogen, eds., *Einst & Jetzt: zur Geschichte der Dresdner Synagoge und ihrer Gemeinde* (Dresden: Ddp Goldenbogen, 2001), 30. See also Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, "Entwürfe zu Möbeln und Möblierungen," *Gottfried Semper (1803–1879): Die Entwürfe zur dekorativen Kunst* (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010), 84–106, 36–39.
[222] Semper, *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1847, 127. See Barbara von Orelli-Messerli, *Gottfried Semper (1803-1879): Die Entwürfe zur dekorativen Kunst* (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010) for further discussion on the furniture design within the Dresden Synagogue.

the plates of Jules Goury and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* from 1836-1842. Semper began his travels with Jules Goury by examining ancient polychrome architecture. Carol A. H. Flores notes that sections of *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* were sold in 1836 before the first bound copy in 1842. Therefore, it is possible some of these were circulated and that Semper saw these early publications. Another architecture publication circulating as early as 1815 was James Cavanah Murphy's *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (Fig. 44). He researched The Great Mosque in Cordoba and the Nasrid palace noting its interiors and exteriors. [223] Girault de Prangey's *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade, Dessinés et Mesurés en 1832 et 1833* featured images of Cordoba, Seville, and Granada in 1837. As Carsten L. Wilke notes in his article on Moorish revival architecture and the Great Synagogue of Pest, the term "Byzantine" is an "aesthetic trend." In addition, Marc Crinson contends that the term can include architecture "located mainly in the East, yet born out of Rome."[224] Synagogue historians have appeared to be less interested in the ornamental assessment versus the overall architectural style. Synagogue architecture historian Harold Hammer-Schenk interpreted the term "Moorish-Byzantine" to mean that there was an "oriental grouping" within the architectural elements and not that one stylistic influence was predominant over the other.[225] Hammer-Schenk notes that the small, eight-part dome roofs of the Dresden Synagogue's western towers are reminiscent of the domes, as they can be seen in Turkish mosques.[226] According to Hannelore Künzl, the Dresden Synagogue displayed a

[223] Aris and Goldenbogen, *Einst & Jetzt*, 33. The full title of the Owen Jones publication is *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra from drawings taken on the spot in 1834 by Jules Goury, and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones; with a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions, and an historical notice of the kings of Granada from the conquest of that city by the Arabs to the expulsion of the Moors, by Pasqual de Gayangos* (London: O. Jones, 1842–1845); Carol A. Hrvol Flores, *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age of Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 14; James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815), 1. See also Lynda S. Mulvin, "A Pioneer of 'Moresque' Revival in Continental Europe: James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814)," *Art in Translation* 11, no. 2 (2020): 148–180, 150.

[224] Carsten L. Wilke, "The Oriental Question and Its Urban Answers: Building the Great Synagogue of Pest, 1854–1859," *Jewish Quarterly Review*: forthcoming; Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 72–73.

[225] "Die Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums hatte in einem Vorbericht über den Neubau auch sogleich von „orientalischer Gruppierung" der Bauteile gesprochen. Die kleinen, achtteiligen Kuppeldächer dieser Westtürme erinnern an die Kuppeln, wie sie, an türkischen Moscheen Konstantinopels zu sehen sind. Zwar ist dort selten die gleiche halbkugelige Form zu finden, wie Semper sie verwendete doch genügt auch hier eine allgemeine Ähnlichkeit, um die beabsichtigte Wirkung und Erinnerung wachzurufen." Harold Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, (1780–1933)*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: H. Christians, 1981), 1:135.

[226] Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 1:135.

"holy appearance" connected to the Jewish Temple.[227] This building can "certainly be recognized as a Jewish temple," she states, which would seem rather surprising to us today." By examining the façade, Künzl observes that some "elements refer to the Jerusalem Temple."[228] Architecturally, the dome in the center of Semper's building was elevated over the main sanctuary. Künzl suggests that the architectural structure alludes to a tent roof that connected to the Jewish Tabernacle, and further relates to Semper's view that the Jerusalem Temple had developed from the tent.[229] Künzl applies the Tabernacle as an idea by means of which to understand the basis of the overall architecture chosen by Semper that symbolizes the connection to textiles and emphasizes a tent in the wilderness. Semper developed a new type of architectural and ornamental expression and was the first architect to incorporate them into a synagogue. The Dresden Synagogue represented a unique and original example of architecture incorporating new motifs referencing an ornament and patterns found in mosques or palaces, like the Alhambra in Spain or (on the basis of possible architectural references) various mosques in Turkey.[230] The Chief Rabbi of the Dresden community, Zacharias Frankel, in his speech given at the opening of the synagogue in 1838, applauded this synthesis of East and West and stated that "the new synagogue would promote not only communal unity and religiosity, but also integration."[231] The design of the Dresden Synagogue was never directly copied, yet Semper's archetype evolved into more spectacular interpretations throughout the course of the nineteenth century.[232] The Dresden Synagogue became one of the symbols of a new architectural style. Semper's student and one the first Jewish architects, Otto Simonson, designed the Leipzig Synagogue in 1855 (Fig. 45). Simonson incorporated Islamic or Eastern influences into his synagogue design because Jewish customs, laws, and traditions were connected to the Orient, creating a metaphorical connection between architecture and the community.[233] Following these examples,

[227] Hannelore Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogenbau des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt on the Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 176–177.
[228] Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente*, 176–177.
[229] Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente*, 178–179.
[230] Hammer-Schenk, *Synagogen in Deutschland*, 1:135; Harmen H. Thies, "Das architektonische Konzept der neuzeitlich-modernen Synagoge," in *Judentum zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, ed. Gerd Biegel and Michael Graetz (Heidelberg: Winter, 2002), 26–28.
[231] Zacharias Frankel, *Rede bei der Grundsteinlegung der neuen Synagoge zu Dresden* (Dresden: Ramming, 1838?), 15; Bjorn Siegel, "The Temple in Leopoldstadt and Its Function in Habsburg Vienna: The Role of History Fashioning Jewish Modernity," *Austrian Studies* 24 (2016): 109–123, 115.
[232] Aris and Goldenbogen, *Einst & Jetzt*, 18.
[233] Efron, *German Jewry*, 138. Otto Simonson was also quoted in saying that "the Moorish style appeared as the most characteristic. *Das Judentum* adheres with the unshakable piety to its history: its laws, habits and customs, the organization of its body, almost its entire being lives in reminiscences of the mother land, the orient. The

synagogues began to incorporate large minarets and columns into their architectural designs, thereby visually altering cityscapes throughout Germany (Fig. 46). Examples include the Hauptsynagogue (Main Synagogue) in Frankfurt in 1855 and the Neue Synagogue in Berlin in 1859. Therefore, the new designs represented the so-called "Eastern identity" of the Jews and their culture. Other German and Austrian architects, including Albert Rosengarten, Edwin Oppler, and Max Fleischer, developed synagogue styles throughout Germany and Austria in places such as Hanover, and Vienna, the latter locale being the home of the Neudeggergasse synagogue. Styles included Neoclassical, Neo-Gothic, Egyptian, and Romanesque.[234] Synagogues built after Dresden, then, did not adhere to Semper's exact model when it came to their structures. As for Synagogue ornament, they incorporated more complex variations of Islamic motifs, using not only Moorish styles but other revival styles as well.[235]

Ludwig Förster's Leopoldstädter Temple was built in 1858 in Vienna (Fig. 47). He studied in Munich and Vienna, and was a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He was the founder of the popular architecture journal *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, which published the latest architectural and engineering news and designs.[236] According to Förster, it was the ancient ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, and biblical architecture (e.g., as Solomon's Temple and the Temple of Jerusalem) that influenced him the most.[237] It should also be added

---

architect has to keep this in mind if he wants to give the buildings its own identity but only if he understands how to pick skillfully the right flower of the oriental bouquet." See Harold Hammer-Schenk, "Die Architektur der Synagogue von 1780 bis 1933," in *Die Architektur der Synagogue*, ed. Hans-Peter Schwartz (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1988), 157–286, 203. Harold Hammer-Schenk, "Jüdische Selbstdarstellung im Synagogenbau in Böhmen, Mähren und Wien im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Wie schön sind deine Zelte, Jakob, deine Wohnungen, Israel!* ed. Rainer Kampling (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), 33–55.

[234] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 77–82.

[235] Siegel, "The Temple in Leopoldstadt," 114; Efron, *German Jewry*, 138.

[236] Efron, *German Jewry*, 144; Elena Shapira, *Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin de Siècle* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2016), 65.

[237] "Nach meiner unmaßgeblichen Ansicht dürfte es der relativ richtigste Weg sein, bei dem Baue eines israelitischen Tempels jene architektonischen Formen zu wählen, deren sich die dem israelitischen Volke verwandten orientalischen Völkerschaften, insbesondere die Araber, bedient haben, und hierbei im Allgemeinen nur jene Modifikationen eintreten zu lassen, welche Klima und die neuen Erfindungen im Bauwesen bedingen. Dass diese meine Ansicht den relativ richtigsten Weg wenigstens nicht verfehlt, wird durch die Forschungen über die älteren und moderneren Baustile im Orient, wie durch die in unseren Tagen vorgenommenen Ausgrabungen am Tigris gerechtfertigt, welche der Architektur Motive bieten, wie sie, nach den Aufzeichnungen im Buche der Bücher zu urteilen, den Formen des Salomonischen Tempels annäherungsweise entsprechen und mit ihnen im Einklänge stehen. So war, um nur einiges hierauf Bezügliche Anzug anzuführen, -führen, anzuführen, die Herstellung der Wände von allerlei Steinen und die Verzierung mit emaillierten Ziegeln schon im höchsten Altertume gebräuchlich, wie die Entdeckungen in Ninive dartun. In Persien bildete man aus gebrannter brannte gebrannter Erde allerlei Polygone und damit die Manning mannigfaltigsten -faltigsten mannigfaltigsten Dessins; die Gesimse waren häufig mit kleinen übereinander liegenden Nischen geschmückt und mit Galerien gekrönt." Ludwig Förster, "Das israelitische Bethaus in der Wiener Vorstadt Leopoldstadt," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1859, 14.

that during the mid-nineteenth century travel to the Middle East, interest in biblical sites, archeology, and architecture were quickly emerging and conveying new knowledge of architectural history to the general public and to professional architects. In order to replicate the Temple of Jerusalem and ancient Jewish architecture, "Eastern," Oriental, or Islamic styles were used, since they were seen as the closest geographically to the biblical original.[238] In the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* from 1859, Förster published his synagogue drawings (Fig. 48); he stated that the task of building an Israelite temple presented a challenge since there was not a clear model for a synagogue. In the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, Förster states that:

> The task of building an Israelite temple was to preserve the most appropriate form, the temple, and, at the same time, to conform to the sacred ideal of all the temples, Solomon's Temple. It is a task that is twice as difficult, since existing records do not provide a correct picture, and since the houses of worship belonging to a later period lack a definite architectural style or have a completely foreign character to the essence of Israelite worship."[239]

In a surviving watercolor by Viennese artist Emil Ranzenhofer from 1901 (Fig. 49), the Leopoldstädter Temple's ornament is illuminated. The patterned walls enveloped all three gallery floors including the ceiling, as described above. The wall surfaces were one of the most significant aspects within the synagogue design, and it is clear from the archives that Förster's example was important and that it influenced many synagogues to come. In the Austrian Jewish newspaper *Die Neuzeit*, the interior of the Leopoldstädter Temple is described as having colored glass ceilings; the largest and most important part of the interior, according to the article, was said to be the polychrome painting. The article stated that "there is rich decoration on the ceiling, gallery ceilings [and] all over the walls and pillars inside the temple. They are designed in the purest Moorish style in this place of worship."[240] The

---

[238] Efron, *German Jewry*, 138.

[239] "Die Aufgabe, einen israelitischen Tempel zu bauen, welcher die für den Kultus erforderliche und für dessen Ausübung zweckdienlichste Form erhalten und zugleich, wenigstens in seinen Hauptgrundzügen, dem geheiligten deale aller Tempel, dem Salomonischen, entsprechen soll diese Aufgabe ist eine anerkannt schwierige, doppelt schwierig, soweit es die Da die vorhandenen Aufzeichnungen uns ein annähernd richtiges Bild nicht zu geben vermögen und die einer späteren Zeit angehörenden Gotteshäuser entweder eines bestimmt ausgesprochenen Baustil lesen entbehren, behren, entbehren, oder ein, dem inneren Wesen des israelitischen Kultus gänzlich fremdes Gepräge tragen." Förster, "Das israelitische Bethaus," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1859, 14.

[240] According to building regulation, non-Catholic houses had to look like residential buildings. See Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 29–30. *Die Neuzeit*, 1858, "Im Innern des Tempels wurden neue finlgerechte färbige Glasoberlichten in der Decke hergestellt. Die größte, wichtigste und am meisten ins Ange fallende Arbeit ist die polychrome Bemalung und die reiche Vergoldung der Decken, der Galerieuntersichten, der sämtlichen Wände und Säulen im Inneren des Tempels, welche styl gerecht im reinsten maurischen Style, im Sinne und Geiste der ursprünglichen Erbauer dieses Gotteshauses durchgefühlt worden ist."

Leopoldstädter Temple, now destroyed, was a unique example that influenced future synagogue architecture exteriors including the Rumbach Street Synagogue (built by Förster's student Otto Wagner) in Budapest and the Spanish Synagogue in Prague.

A third example from Vienna is the Polish Synagogue (Polnishe Schul), which was built in 1893 (Fig. 50). During the nineteenth century, the Polish Synagogue was the center of prayer and culture for the Jews who moved to Vienna from Poland (later from Galicia), who brought their languages and traditions with them.[241] According to the Vienna City Archives, the well-known Jewish Viennese architect Wilhelm Stiassny studied at the Polytechnic in Vienna and the Academy of Fine Arts. As a young architect, he designed private residences for well-known Jewish families such as the Rothschilds. He was also a board member of the Vienna Jewish community committee for prayer houses, management, and construction in 1880, and he submitted plans for the Polish Synagogue in 1892–1893.[242] The Viennese City Council approved a building with an elongated narrow plan: "The building was a three-aisle, one-story sacred building with a dome and lantern."[243] The laying of the cornerstone took place in March 1893, and the inauguration happened in September 1893. The following description was published in the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* from 1894: "The Moorish-style synagogue was built in 1893 according to the plans and under the direction of the architect Wilhelm Stiassny. The wings, standing out prominently on both sides, on the west-facing façade contain staircases that flank the central structure, which is crowned with a dome."[244] An unknown artist, Eduard Steiner, painted the exterior. It was painted with plaster with alternating yellow and red layers rich in polychrome; the surface ornamentation incorporated vivid colors and was decorated with Islamic motifs.[245] The interior decorations, ornament, walls, and ceilings were adorned with a rich color. The ceiling was divided with recessed panels, which were painted to look like a carpet. The glazing in the temple area was made entirely of colored glass.[246] Semper's, Förster's, and Stiassny's abolished structures were

[241] Klaus Hödl, *Als Bettler in die Leopoldstadt: galizische Juden auf dem Weg nach Wien* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 136. See also Pierre Genee, *Wiener Synagogen 1825–1938* (Vienna: Löcker, 1987), 90.
[242] Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv, M.Abt.119, A32:4870/1925, Beth Israel Israelitischer Synagogenverein.
[243] "Synagoge für die Polnisch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1894, 70–71.
[244] "Die im maurischen Style erbaute Synagoge wurde im Jahre 1893 nach den Plänen und unter der Leitung des Architekten Wilhelm Stiassny ausgeführt. Schon die Äußere Anlage des Baues gestattet einen Schluss auf die innere Einheilung desselben. Die zu beiden Seiten kräftig hervortretenden Flügelbauten an der gegen Westen gelegenen Façade, welche die Treppenanlagen enthalten, flankieren den Mittelbau, der in seinem vor vordersten Theile von einer Kuppel überragt wird." "Synagoge für die Polnisch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1894, 70.
[245] "Synagoge für die Polnisch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1894, 70.
[246] "Synagoge für die Polnisch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1894, 70.

unique constructions that expanded on the ornamental repertoire found in Jewish sacred spaces. The significance of the destroyed synagogues in Dresden and Vienna is that there were a number of important synagogue interiors that contained Islamic ornament.

3.3 Introduction to Existing Synagogues: Five Case Studies

At the core of this research are early twentieth-century synagogue interiors from Jewish communities located in Europe and the United States. More specifically, my focus will be on those interiors that incorporated illuminating Islamic ornamental forms. When Jews were emancipated during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, communities and rabbis wanted more public architectural representation to emphasize this shift to new civil freedoms. And such representation, they thought, was part and parcel of openly practicing their religion without fear of persecution. Jewish communities throughout Europe were not all emancipated at the same time, and so this architectural transition was not a linear development.[247] New synagogues therefore were relatively slow to materialize, but when completed they were enormous (seating capacities of 2,000–3,000 congregants), monumental, a wonder to look at, and represented a more public identity: the Jews now had (at least in theory) equal legal status with their non-Jewish neighbors. Since there were many civil restrictions enforced upon the Jewish communities before the nineteenth century, very few Jews had been able to study architecture or join a construction-related guild.[248] Synagogues could be closed down or confiscated by the government, depending on who the ruling political authority was.[249] The communities that used these synagogues and lived in their surrounding neighborhoods continually experienced and witnessed the desire to be seen quite simply as equal citizens of their respective towns, cities, and countries. The Jews of Europe wanted to be considered refined and respectable individuals just as much as their non-Jewish fellow citizens were. The European Jews who immigrated from Germany or German-speaking countries to the United States wanted to leave their history of persecution behind them, but they brought with them their towering exotic hybrid architecture. Other émigré Jews from Europe to the United States adopted a variety of styles and interior designs from Moorish, Romanesque, Gothic, and Neoclassical styles.

---

[247] David Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation: A History across Five Centuries* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 172–188.
[248] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 42–44.
[249] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 44.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were international debates on ornament and design from manufacturers, architects, and artists.[250] In the study of Islamic art in Europe, English builders offered a practical application of ornament, creating a revival in the use of vintage period ornament. Unfortunately, they only possessed an artificial understanding of it, and this was made evident by the lack of historical context in their designs.[251] Ornament publications from the nineteenth century not only examined Islamic ornament but also looked at other styles from many historical periods and from numerous artistic traditions, creating detailed catalogues.[252] Examples of these are Owen Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), Auguste Racinet's, *Polychromatic Ornament* (1873), and Heinrich Dolmetsch's *Der Ornamentenschatz* (1887).[253] Jones, Racinet, and Dolmetsch emphasized ornamental surface decoration, and their publications categorized historical periods of art into universal lexicons of decoration. These publications focused on multiple Islamic styles with the objective of creating a source that would act as a universal guide disseminating new knowledge of the Orient and Islamic styles.[254] Historic ornament was being reintroduced as a new way to design interior synagogue walls, and Islamic decoration presented a way for architects to adapt ancient motifs and patterns by giving them an Oriental character and emphasizing it. The publications by Jones and others decontextualized Islamic ornament from its original Islamic context, from the architecture it was originally part of, dividing it into sections, as a neutral flat pattern, and offering other historical examples of ornament. Islamic motifs encompass a variety of forms from the Iberian Peninsula all the way to Egypt.[255] Since Islamic ornament was reused in a European context it presented a way to reconsider and redeploy Islamic ornament. Due to the migration of Islamic architectural forms and patterns from these publications ornament was transferred back again into architecture, but in a new, European context. Ornament and patterns were circulated through

[250] Debra Schafter, *The Order of Ornament, The Structure of Style: Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 58.
[251] Rémi Labrusse, "Grammars of Ornament: Dematerialization and Embodiment from Owen Jones to Paul Klee," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu, (2016), 320–333, 324.
[252] Labrusse, "Grammars of Ornament," 320.
[253] Other texts include Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe; ou Monuments du Kaire et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826* (1837–1839), Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *La décoration arabe* (1887), Leonhard Diefenbach, *Geometrische Ornamentik* (1892), and James Ward, *Historic Ornament* (1897). See David Raizman, *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2003), 51. See also Labrusse, "Grammars of Ornament."
[254] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 61.
[255] Muhammad Sarfraz, ed., *Geometric Modeling: Techniques, Applications, Systems and Tools* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 234.

new adaptations not only in synagogue interiors but inside secular buildings and domestic spaces. Islamic patterns were put into use for a variety of decorative purposes in all of these structures. Two key examples of non-synagogue structures to feature Islamic patterns are the Moorish Villa, Wilhelma in Bad Cannstatt, Stuttgart designed by Karl Ludwig von Zanth (1846) and the Arab Hall designed by George Aitchison for Leighton House in London (1877–1879). The geometric patterns are distinctive and were found on all materials and surfaces, including tiles, bricks, wood, brass, plaster, and glass. These sophisticated designs were also found on carpets, manuscripts, wooden carvings, doors, and screens.[256] One of the most familiar patterns is the arabesque, and it is constructed from curvilinear elements with leafed or floral forms that intertwine and converge.

Another unique quality within Islamic art is the variety of geometric patterns with constellations or star shapes found in it. In the latter case, the stars often have six, eight, ten, or even twelve points. Even though the majority of Islamic art depicts shapes and lines, there are examples of Islamic figural art from medieval and early modern periods.[257] Geometric patterns found in Islamic art, according to Eva Baer, were invented for decorative embellishment, and Islamic patterns are mostly based on geometric motifs that are interlaced with repeated patterns.[258] Squares and lozenges are the most simple and logical shapes, and have been used in both Byzantine and Islamic patterns.[259] Within geometric pattern construction, circles are used in a variety of intricate patterns, which can also be interlaced and used in border designs and within large surfaces. Islamic painters and craftsmen constructed ornamental embellishment and illuminated surfaces to prevent the viewer from worshipping an object over the Creator.[260] Similarly within Judaism, the figure is not drawn and forms are considered to be interpretations of nature, which is why Islamic ornament is suitable for the design of synagogue interiors.

3.3.1 The Rumbach Synagogue, Budapest

The Jews of Hungary did not have an easy process of assimilating into mainstream society, and depending on the region not all cities were tolerant of the Jews and their religious

[256] Dominique Clévenot, *Splendors of Islam: Architecture, Decoration and Design* (New York: Vendome Press, 2002), 8.
[257] Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, eds., *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 25.
[258] Eva Baer, *Islamic Ornament* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 40.
[259] Cynthia Finlayson, "Behind the Arabesque: Understanding Islamic Art and Architecture," *BYU Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2001): 69–88.
[260] Finlayson, "Behind the Arabesque," 72.

customs. They were therefore no strangers to constant movements and relocations. Until the nineteenth century, Jews lived on the peripheries of cities and non-Jewish society. But in the post-emancipation period, the middle and upper classes of Hungary felt that the Jews were a threat to society.[261] After the 1848 Revolutions, Viennese and German architects designed synagogues whose design was influenced by Catholic and Byzantine churches and by biblical architecture, most notably by Solomon's Temple (as mentioned above), and until the Holocaust several hundred of these types of synagogues were constructed in Hungary.[262]

Otto Wagner, a young Viennese architect, won the commission for the Rumbach Street Synagogue in 1869, and it was one his first major contracts. He was commissioned to design the synagogue at twenty-eight years old. Wagner studied in Berlin at the *Berlin Bauakademie* and was a former assistant to German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Upon returning to Vienna, he graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1862 under the supervision of August Sicard von Sicardsburg and Eduard van der Nüll, and was a construction manager under Henrich Förster, whose father was Ludwig Förster and worked for the Palais Epstein in Vienna for Gustav Ritter von Epstein until 1864.[263] Gustav Ritter von Epstein was from one of the oldest Jewish families originally from Prague and that eventually moved to Vienna. He was a patron and supporter of the Jewish community there and was possibly the one who recommended Wagner for the Budapest synagogue.[264] Epstein also donated a copy of Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* to the Austrian Museum of Art in 1865, so it is possible that Wagner saw this publication.[265] It could be suggested that it was under Förster that Wagner also learned about the new Oriental style in synagogue architecture. Förster's Vienna Leopoldstädter Synagogue was built in 1858, and his Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest was constructed between 1854 and 1859. The Dohány Street Synagogue sanctuary is decorated with blues, reds, and yellows, possibly in imitation of the Alhambra, and other stylistic influences include structures in Syria, Egypt, and Algeria, according to a letter that he wrote to his son.[266]

---

[261] Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary*, 10–17.
[262] Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary*, 106–107.
[263] *Architektenlexikon Wien 1770–1945* (Vienna: Architekturzentrum, 2007); Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 65. As of 2018, it was no longer active, and it is now (at the time of writing) undergoing extensive restoration until 2020.
[264] Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 43–44, 64.
[265] Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 66.
[266] Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary*, 525; Ines Müller, *Die Otto Wagner Synagogue in Budapest* (Vienna: Löcker, 1992), 25.

The Rumbach Street Synagogue is an example of Wagner's early work and a sepia interior perspective was sent to the Paris Universal Exposition in 1878.[267] The synagogue is unique for many reasons, and perhaps the main reason is the distinctive octagonal shape surrounded by seven sides with slim pillars evoking the columns in the Alhambra, and the painted surfaces in alternating sections of reds and blues. While most of the original architectural plans did not survive, a drawing located in the Budapest City Archives illustrates Wagner's octagonal design, basement, ground floor, and mezzanine. It is architecturally unique because of its shape; it was also used to challenge previous traditions of synagogue decoration, since most interiors architecturally are rectangular with a gallery and upper gallery.[268] Architecturally, it was not a magnificent cathedral or anything resembling what people at the time thought Solomon's Temple looked like. According to Rudolf Klein, "the synagogue reflects various architectural codes simultaneously," while other historians, such as Carol Krinsky, identify the architectural structure as being reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock.[269] In the collection of the Wien Museum (Fig. 51), there is also a photogravure showing a sectional drawing of the synagogue, which illustrates a cut-through perspective indicating the interior and overall structure from the street entrance to the inner sanctuary, and thus showing the adorned interior walls. There were 1,160 seats in the synagogue; the core of the octagon is divided by the galleried aisles with eight iron piers and with six circular large stained-glass windows displaying octagonal star motifs. The synagogue opened its doors on the High Holidays of 1872 and functioned until the late 1960s.[270] The Rumbach Street Synagogue was constructed at a moment of historical significance, when Austria and Hungary agreed on self-rule. Following this political pact, there was economic growth and the creation of Buda and Pest saw the formation of a new capital in Hungary.[271] Before the construction of the Rumbach Synagogue, the Orthodox community had only one prayer house. The community was not against the construction of an Oriental-style synagogue, since the Dohány Street Synagogue was built earlier by Ludwig Förster, and it was only a few streets away and designed in an Oriental style (Fig. 52). In comparison to the Dohány Street Synagogue, the Rumbach Street Synagogue in some ways

[267] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 160; Shapira, *Style and Seduction*, 67.
[268] Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary*, 482.
[269] Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 160; Klein, *Synagogues in Hungary*, 486.
[270] Eli Valley, *The Great Jewish Cities of Central and Eastern Europe: A Travel Guide and Resource Book to Prague, Warsaw, Cracow and Budapest* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 462. See also Péter Kormos and András Villányi, *The Synagogues of Budapest* (Budapest: Villányi Kiadó, 2007), 56.
[271] Klein, *Synagogues of Hungary*, 479.

was more eccentric. The surfaces in the Rumbach are not flat; the ornament is on a painted relief, emphasizing a complex repeated pattern.

The interior displays a sumptuous ornamental surface relief in alternating rectangular panels in red and blue with yellow arabesques. Each panel is framed with small six-pointed stars alternating between blue and red outlined with yellow on a black background. As shown on an original photograph from 1872, this pattern repeats itself from the walls on the ground floor to the ceiling (Fig. 53).[272] The women's balcony extends over the main sanctuary, and the ceiling under the balcony is wood with stenciled arabesques.[273] The overall design is composed of large rectangular sections (Fig. 54) of ornament alternating between a blue background coated with a red lattice pattern of interlacing lines and a red background with a blue lattice design. The main design motif that forms this arrangement is a quatrefoil pattern with rounded edges (Fig. 55). A similar pattern is found in "Arabian no. 3: Arabian Ornaments from the Thirteenth Century from Cairo" from Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (Fig. 56). Ines Müller, author of the *Die Rumbach Synagogue*, points to three publications that could have influenced the synagogues decoration: the *Grammar of Ornament*, the *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* and *Die Baukunst der Araber*.[274] According to Müller, Wagner could have also studied the ornament of Granada, Cairo, and Istanbul. and notes two additional architectural examples within the synagogue: the capitals and the doors for the Torah ark, which include floral patterns, used as borders, that are possibly modeled on Persian floral designs. Wagner's adaptation of Islamic ornament exhibits how the influence of publications such as Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* significantly shaped nineteenth-century architects' vision of synagogue interiors, filling their heads with unique ideas about floral and geometric arrangements.

3.3.2 The Spanish Synagogue, Prague

The Jewish community of Prague dates back to at least the thirteenth century, with its origins lying in Brno, South Moravia, and in villages in South Bohemia. Jews joined these communities from Germany and the Balkans during the Middle Ages.[275] While emancipation for the Jews of the former Czechoslovakia began during the reign of Joseph II at the end of

[272] Müller, *Otto Wagner Synagogue*, 58.
[273] Muller, *Otto Wagner Synagogue*, 59.
[274] Müller, *Otto Wagner Synagogue*, 59.
[275] Frank Meissner, "German Jews of Prague: A Quest for Self-Realization," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 50, no. 2 (1960): 98–120, 98–101.

the eighteenth century (Joseph II also abolished the Jewish ghetto), assimilation did not happen immediately and persecution still continued. Jewish communities were granted equal rights in 1848, and by the nineteenth century seven Jewish communities had built new synagogues.[276] The Spanish Synagogue was constructed on the foundation of the Atlshul, which was the oldest synagogue in Prague, and was built to replace it. A document that was found in the Prague City Archives from 1864 states that the Board of Directors of the Israelite Association for Regulated Worship Services confirmed plans to build a new prayer house.[277] It is unknown whether this synagogue was commissioned or built via a bidding competition, but in May 1868 the synagogue was completed by Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann, with the interior designed by Josef Niklas and executed by Antonin Baum and Bedřich Münzberger.

Ullmann studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He was interested in Neo-Renaissance and Neo-Romanesque styles and other historical revival buildings throughout Prague. Ullmann was known for his work on revival-style buildings throughout Prague, yet this synagogue was his only project that involved copying an Islamic or Moorish revival style in particular.[278] While limited archival material exists, the Jewish Museum in Prague has an architectural drawing revealing the ground floor and upper gallery, and an engraving of the exterior (Fig. 57). The architectural drawing illustrates the overall plan of the synagogue, showing a square composition, the ground floor and upper gallery, rounded arches, and a domed roof. Also in the collection of the Jewish Museum is a print of the Spanish Synagogue made by the Czech illustrator František Chalupa from 1869, a year after the synagogue was completed. Chalupa was well known because of his many publications in popular nineteenth century Czech illustrated magazines. The print illustrates the building exterior, which is a

[276] Arno Pařík, *Prague Synagogues* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 2011), 85. See also Arno Pařík, *Symbols of Emancipation: Nineteenth Century Synagogues in the Czech Lands* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 2013), 45; and Marsha L. Rozenblit "Jews, German Culture, and the Dilemma of National Identity: The Case of Moravia, 1848–1938," *Jewish Social Studies* 20, no. 1 (2013): 77–120, 82–84.

[277] "Unterm 8. November l. hat der Vorstand des israelitischen Vereins für geregelten Gottesdienst die Pläne zu der Erbauung eines neuen Bethauses statt der bis herigen überweicht und um die Konzentrierung dieses Baues das Ansuchen gestellt. In Folge dessen würde eine Lokalkomission auf den 11. November." Prague City Archives, No. 67710: Die Prüfung der Plane zum Umbau beziehungsweise Neubau des israelitischen Bethauses in No. C. 141V/42.

[278] Karel Teige, *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 2000), 67; Alexandr Putík and Olga Sixtová, *History of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia: Exhibition Guide: From the First Settlements Until Emancipation* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 2002), 21; Jan Bažant, "The Classical Tradition and Nationalism: The Art and Architecture of Prague, 1860–1900," in *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, ed. Zara Martirosova Torlone, Dana LaCourse Munteanu, and Dorota Dutsch (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 133–145, 133.

tiered façade with rounded horseshoe windows, with each window featuring a Star of David. The uppermost part of the synagogue is topped with two small minarets.

Ivan Kalmar, who has extensively researched synagogues in Prague, has noted that, when it comes to the origin of the name of the Spanish Synagogue, resources are few and far between. According to Kalmar, the word "Spanish" does not appear in any written sources until after World War II, so it is not clear as to why, if any, Sephardic communities used the synagogue.[279] Within some Prague travel guides, mention is made of a tenth-century Jewish settlement of Sephardic Jews; however, from a scholarly perspective it is not clear to what degree the community was actually Sephardic, and for the moment it is more likely that the synagogue's name was intended to reflect its design and not to refer to the religious disposition of its worshippers. One of the active members of the community at this time was Leopold Zunz, who was a well-known Orientalist and Hebraist and founder of discipline of Judaic Studies and a rabbi of the synagogue.[280] According to Zunz, this new synagogue "embodied the desperately needed synthesis of Eastern piety and Western culture by bringing together ancient Hebrew prayers and ceremonies with choral singing and educational German sermons."[281] It was the first synagogue in Prague to introduce a Reform service and music, and so one can say that it not only modernized sacred Jewish architecture but Jewish liturgy as well.[282] In 1955, the synagogue was turned over to the Jewish Museum, and the restoration of the synagogue took place from 1994 to 1998.[283]

The Spanish Synagogue has an ornamental interior displaying a variety of Islamic patterns. In a letter to the building authorities in 1868, the synagogue was described as having "a luminous interior decoration with gold paint."[284] The walls are painted in polychrome colors with hues of gold, green, red, and blue. The Oriental sensation comes from the interior surfaces where ornament appears stitched into the walls (Fig. 58). The general pattern on the synagogue interior is filled with a diamond-shaped lattice design painted with black and gold paint on a dark red background, which cloaks all the synagogue walls. An elaborate main element to the Spanish Synagogue is the eastern wall, which stores the ark. It is a two-tiered

[279] David Kalmar, "The Origins of the 'Spanish Synagogue' of Prague," *Judaica Bohemiae* 35 (1999): 158–209, 159.
[280] Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, 87 ; Kalmar, "Origins," 158. See also Ismar Schorsch, *Leopold Zunz: Creativity in Adversity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 23.
[281] Schorsch, *Leopold Zunz: Creativity in Adversity*, 52.
[282] Schorsch, *Leopold Zunz: Creativity in Adversity*, 52; Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, 87.
[283] Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, 95.
[284] Kalmar, "Origins," 199.

structure designed with a semicircular arch in gold and white. Slender pillars are wrapped in a simple pattern painted in gold, red, green, and black. Unlike many synagogues that would normally have a Torah curtain with embroidery on crushed velvet, this synagogue's curtain has a simple background of dark blue and silver stars, referencing the celestial sky with wooden doors. Above the ark is a circular stained-glass window decorated with an elaborate interweaving gold arabesque framed with a rounded arch that is also painted in gold. Overhead is the dome (Fig. 59), which is painted in twisted gold lines forming a netting of knots and arabesques evocative of a gold lace border. The dome has a stained-glass window with repeating patterns of six-pointed stars. There are four large six-pointed stars on the lower walls below the dome with rounded edges that frame the center of the dome with a row of arabesques, diamonds, and triangles that seem engraved in the surface. Below the dome, the ceiling design for the first floor incorporates borders of large six-pointed stars in gold outline (Fig. 60). Within each star is a detailed pattern of twisted lines with gold and green paint, incorporating small arabesque motifs within each star point or triangle. There are smaller patterns of star shapes and equilateral triangles, which form hexagons connected with miniature eight-pointed gold stars painted with dark brown, black, and red color. The arrangement of forms is closely fitted together much like a webbing of connected lines. There are numerous patterns and compositions, which all together create hybrid ornamentation.

The ornament on the interior walls, pillars, and ceilings evokes interpretations of Islamic ornamentation. In terms of ornamental influences, there is not one pattern, there are many; therefore, it is not possible to point to just one source. Three likely sources could be offered, but they are not documented in any archival information. One can look through examining the synagogue ornament presented in Jules Goury and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra*, examen the Moresque plates illustrated in his *Grammar of Ornament*, or look at Émile Prisse d'Avennes's *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire*, which was published in 1877 (Fig. 61).

3.3.3 The Jerusalem or "Jubilee" Synagogue, Prague

A second example from Prague is the Jerusalem or "Jubilee" Synagogue (Fig. 30). During the nineteenth century, a decision was made to rebuild the Josefov neighborhood in Prague. A building association was created in 1897, and the committee purchased property for a new synagogue to replace one that had been destroyed. In 1898, there was an urban redevelopment plan to liquidate the Prague ghetto and raise awareness that Jews shared the

same values as gentile Czech citizens.[285] This synagogue is sometimes referred to as the Jubilee Synagogue in reference to Franz Joseph, who was celebrating his sixtieth Jubilee as Emperor, but it also points to his positive relationship with the Jewish community of the city.[286]

The synagogue was designed by Wilhelm Stiassny. His work comprises about 170 secular buildings (mainly residential houses, hospitals, and humanitarian institutions) as well as synagogues, including the Polish Synagogue in 1893, as was discussed above.[287] Stiassny was one of the few Jewish architects known for employing Oriental and exotic elements in his designs.[288] Initially, two designs were presented for the Jerusalem Synagogue: one was neo-Romanesque, and the other was neo-Gothic. In 1903, Stiassny presented his proposal of the building, which merged Art Nouveau influences and Moorish design principles.[289] In a document from the Prague Jewish Community Archives in 1905, the synagogue committee approved the project and raised their own funds to build the new synagogue.[290] The Jerusalem Synagogue was the last synagogue Stiassny designed, and was completed in 1906 by a lesser-known architect named Alois Richter.[291] The interior was painted by František Fröhlich, a relatively unfamiliar painter who lived in Prague. In the Prague Jewish Museum, only one watercolor has survived, and, signed by Fröhlich, it illustrates the synagogue interior from 1906 (Fig. 62).[292] The Jerusalem Synagogue in many ways is one of the most unique synagogues selected in this research and within Stiassny's architectural oeuvre. The vivid hues of red, blue, and yellow make this building separate from the other case studies because it is a rather late example of the Islamic architectural and stylistic influence on European synagogues. Not only is the interior designed with vivid polychrome, but so is the exterior of the building. The Jerusalem Synagogue is a rare interpretation of Islamic ornament and is frequently overlooked because of its eccentricity, since it merges Islamic and Moorish

[285] Cathleen M. Giustino, "Persistent Anti-Jewish Hostility and Modern Technologies: The Entanglement of Old and New and the Radicalization of Politics in Prague around 1900," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 31, no. 3 (2005): 351–372, 352–354.
[286] *Architecture Record*, Vol. 1–20, 465. See also Eli Valley, *The Great Jewish Cities*, 132–133; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe*, 176.
[287] *Architektenlexikon Wien 1770–1945* (Vienna: Architekturzentrum, 2007).
[288] In addition to being a prolific architect, Stiassny was known to interact with everyone including the Rothschilds in Vienna and Theodor Herzl, the Hungarian journalist and Zionist. See Ivan Kalmar, "Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture," *Jewish Social Studies* 7, no. 3 (2001): 68–100, 93; and Dominique Jarassé, *Synagogues: Architecture and Jewish Identity* (Paris: Vilo International, 2001), 200.
[289] Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, 105.
[290] Jubiläums-Synagoge, Závěrečná Listina [Schlusssteinurkunde],1906, Archive of the Jewish Museum, Prague.
[291] Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, 99.
[292] Pařík, *Symbols of Emancipation*, 93.

influences with touches of Art Nouveau. Art Nouveau appears on other synagogues throughout the former Czechoslovakia until 1910, but these buildings convey a modern streamlined design with a broad variety of decorative patterns and are not as influenced by Islamic architecture.[293] By 1900, the practice of using Islamic or Moorish features was in decline, and synagogues began to take on a diverse array of architectural influences.

The interior of the Jerusalem Synagogue has a main aisle that is lined with twelve arches illuminated with candelabras and chandeliers leading from the street entrance of the building to the ark (Fig. 63). Similarly, the Spanish Synagogue's ark is a centerpiece of the synagogue, with wooden doors ornamented in gold, six slender pillars framing the ark, crowned by a rounded arch, with the Hebrew tablets. In the main sanctuary on the ground floor, each arch is painted in a bright blue with elegant gold forms of arabesques with curls creating a sinuous and stylized interlace motif. The painted walls on the ground floor and second floor galleries repeat with alternating sections of geometric and arabesque ornament in red and blue, gold, brown, and yellow. The wall ornament was evidently influenced by Jules Goury and Owen Jones's plates on the Alhambra and by *The Grammar of Ornament*'s Moresque No. 5. Plate XLIII (Fig. 64). On this plate, Jones copied ornament formations of hexagons, and on it as well are fashioned eight-pointed stars and triangular and diamond grids in gold, yellow, green, and blue.

The upper gallery (Fig. 65) features a large organ, twelve multifoil scalloped arches painted in a bright blue with gold, and white and gold columns commonly found in publications from the nineteenth century. The surface pattern that covers many of the walls is painted in red and blue, in a way similar to the way the walls of the Rumbach Synagogue were painted. There are rectangular stained-glass windows inserted into a flat ceiling (Fig. 66). In addition to the glass windows, the ceiling decoration incorporates three thin borders with rounded triangles alternating in red, green, blue, and yellow. The center design has three large squares, including two squares each with an eight-pointed star; the middle square has a light blue quatrefoil overlaid with a light pink interlacing line. Stiassny embraced historic revival styles, though it is uncertain as to whether he ever traveled to see the architecture he was inspired by. The above-mentioned publications by Jones and other authors most likely served as an inspiration. This synagogue symbolized not only ancient Jewish origins, but a possible idea of a prosperous future for the Jewish community of Prague.

[293] Pařík, *Symbols of Emancipation*, 11.

3.3.4 Synagogues: New Immigrants and Revival Styles

The first Jews who migrated to the United States arrived in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Jews were Spanish and Portuguese and came to America from Holland and the Caribbean islands, landing in Newport, Rhode Island, and New York, with some making their way to various towns in Pennsylvania. They formed the earliest communities with the oldest surviving synagogues in the United States. The synagogue interiors were simple rectangular structures influenced by Neoclassical architectural design and featured both Corinthian and Ionic columns.[294] Another wave of Jews started to arrive from England during the early eighteenth century, and the first immigrants from Germany arrived between 1820 and 1880.[295] Two final synagogue case studies are presented below, the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the Central Synagogue in New York. During this time, important national historical events were taking place in America such as the Civil War, the end of slavery in the North and the South, and the Gold Rush in the West. All this was going on while developing cities all over the country accepted new immigrants. It was a time of immense historical and societal change. As Rachel Wischnitzer noted, "Jews in America were not weighed down by medieval religious conceptions." A network of synagogues was conceived, widening the influence of Islamic ornament from the East to the south of Spain, then through several major cities in Europe, and finally through a few big cities in the United States.[296] The American versions of these synagogues were built between in the 1850s and 1860s, embodying influences and imitations of Islamic forms in their architecture. The majority of immigrants who attended these new synagogues were from Germany or German-speaking communities, with the largest German émigré communities in Cincinnati, New York, and Philadelphia.[297] Beginning in 1866, the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati was the first to have incorporated Islamic patterns, and it was followed by Temple Emanu-El in New York in 1868 and then the Central Synagogue in New York in 1872.[298] The synagogues in North America reflected their European architectural identity but also the new identity of their members as American Jews. The exotic and Oriental synagogues erected in American

[294] Rachel Wischnitzer, "The Problem of Synagogue Architecture: Creating a Style Expressive of America," *Commentary* 3, no. 6 (1947):51–5; Henry Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America: Faith, Spirit and Identity* (Victoria, Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2004), 97.
[295] Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 18.
[296] Rachel Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 46; Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 46.
[297] Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 46.
[298] Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 70.

cities were never seen before; thus the Oriental-style synagogues appeared grand and splendid in the midst of a new, burgeoning America.

3.3.5 The Plum Street Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio

The Isaac M. Wise Temple, also known as the Plum Street Temple or Plum Street, was built in 1866. The Plum Street Temple began construction after the Civil War, and the Jewish community of Cincinnati was one of the largest in the country. Its estimated population of 10,000 people, many of whom had emigrated from Europe.[299] Plum Street displayed a commitment to the developing Reform movement, which was started in Germany by Abraham Geiger during the nineteenth century.[300] The temple's rabbi, Isaac Mayer Wise, was born in what is today known as the Czech Republic (or Czechia), studied in Prague and immigrated to the United States in 1846, becoming Rabbi of the Plum Street Temple in 1853 (Fig. 67).[301] The temple was designed by James Key Wilson, who was born in Cincinnati and studied with the prominent American architect James Renwick.[302] The diverse style used for the building resembles those used for synagogues found in Berlin and other European capitals. In the Cincinnati publication *The Israelite* from 1864 (of which Wise was the editor), an unknown contributor noted that "you probably know, that in Berlin Jews are building a large magnificent synagogue which will be ranked among the most splendid public edifices."[303] Here, this is a clear reference to the Berlin *Neue Synagogue*, which was built in 1859 by Eduard Knoblauch.[304] The ornament and decoration found in post-emancipation synagogues, especially in Germany, denoted a nineteenth-century idea to a "Golden Age" in Spain. Rabbi Wise believed that "the emerging American Jewish experience would be Judaism's next "golden age,'" thus making a connection to Islamic revival and Moorish

[299] John S. Fine, *Jews of Cincinnati* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), 7; Jacob R. Marcus, *To Count a People: American Jewish Population Data, 1585–1984* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 172–173. See also Jonathan D. Sarna and Benjamin Shapell, *Lincoln and the Jews: A History* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2015), 47.
[300] Deborah Dash Moore, *Urban Origins of American Judaism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 30; Efron, *German Jewry*, 194.
[301] David Philipson, *Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise* (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1900), 64.
[302] James Renwick designed many buildings in New York and Washington, DC, in Neo-Gothic style, including the Smithsonian Museum. See Glenn Patton, "James Keys Wilson (1828–1894): Architect of the Gothic Revival in Cincinnati," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, no. 4 (1967): 285–293, 285.
[303] *The Israelite*, April 22, 1864.
[304] Francine Giese, "An Inclination for the Moorish Style: Architects and Networks in 19th Century Germany," in *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective*, ed. Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 225–244. 226. See also Saskia Coenen Snyder, *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 56–85.

ornament all the more suitable for the new community.[305] In an anniversary booklet from 1892 found in the synagogue archives, it stated that the cornerstone was placed on August 24, 1866, and that the Temple was referred to as an "Alhambra temple with slender pillars and thirteen domes."[306] With its minarets on the exterior and elaborate interior, Plum Street exhibits a rich blend of Islamic ornament.

The Plum Street Temple is one of Cincinnati's more important edifices. The red brick exterior features three arched entrances, a rose window, and giant minarets. The eclectic historical revival styles were common during the nineteenth century in the United States. The synagogue interior is a rectangular structure with two aisles, both of which were decorated with small domes. Wilson's main architectural style, according the synagogue archives, fuses Islamic, Byzantine, and Gothic design features and has an interior with multiple domes and arches decorated with geometric designs and Hebrew inscriptions on the walls. The walls display multiple patterns from the ceiling to the domes (Fig. 68). Each dome is decorated with blue, brown, and gold paint with an overlay stenciled ornament that resembles white lace or webbing, and each has a geometric pattern underneath. The wall surfaces directly below the domes include color combinations of pinks, greens, and browns, alternating decorative painted panels with ornament stencil motifs that appear embroidered into the surface. The brown border that frames the dome below the blue surface is created from a small eight-pointed star with a center floral design, within each star formation it is divided into eight sections creating a condensed geometric arrangement. This border is repeated within all the domes in the synagogue (Fig. 69). The walls are divided into multiple sections with alternating patterns. All surface designs were created through a stencil. The brown wall sections are similar to the Moorish patterns found in the publications discussed above and in European synagogue interiors such as those of the Jubilee Synagogue and the Spanish Synagogue in Prague (Fig. 70). However, the wall patterns are historically unidentifiable, since there the designer used such mixed variety of forms. Although the influence or inspiration for the synagogue's design is connected to the Alhambra, its decorative composition is a hybrid of ornamental influences. The eastern wall displays a large circular window and two Torah tablets displaying geometric patterns with blue circular motifs flanked with two panes of ornament with dark red and pink diamond shapes. A further reference

[305] Isaac M. Wise, *The Israelite*, May 6, 1864. Cited in Roscoe C. Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815–1840*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), II:474.
[306] Synagogue archive document: *Plum Street Temple Anniversary Booklet* (1892).

could be made to patterns that derived from Jules Goury and Owen Jones's studies of the Alhambra published from 1836 to 1845 and his plates on Byzantine ornament from the *Grammar of Ornament* in 1856 (Fig. 71).

The stencil work in the Plum Street Temple was done by Francis Pedretti, a well-known stencil and fresco artist. Born in Italy in 1829, he attended the Brera Academy in Milan, where he studied decorative art.[307] Pedretti arrived in Cincinnati in the same year as Rabbi Wise in 1846. The Pedretti family had two generations of fresco painters and interior decorators.[308] Exactly why Pedretti came to Cincinnati is unknown, but we do know that in many cases immigrants, after arriving in New York, were sent by the authorities to other American cities. Francis Pedretti and his brother were responsible for other interiors decorated around Cincinnati in local city buildings.[309] Plum Street underwent a major renovation in 1995, and as the original stencils were not available, the temple hired an architectural firm to recut all the stencils (Fig. 72). The restoration process was carefully documented; it took over two years and underwent two distinct phases. The first phase saw the updating of the exterior and roof; the entire painted surface was removed. The second phase consisted of all the ornament getting a fresh coat of paint. According to Rachel Wischnitzer, this was the first Moorish building in the United States.[310] The temple was also mentioned in the *Illustrated Guide to Cincinnati and the World's Columbian Exposition* in 1893. The objective of this world's fair was to recognize the greatest achievements within America and also to have many states represented. Thirty-eight US states displayed not only new objects and designs but also new transportation technologies and their most important buildings.[311] This further verifies the importance of the temple and its national significance. It stated:

> The Hebrew Synagogue – Holy Congregation, Children of Jeshurun, southeast corner Plum and Eighth. This magnificent synagogue, the K.K. Benai Jeshurun was built chiefly during the war, at a cost of $275,000, and dedicated in 1866. The style of the architecture is Moresque, designed after the Alhambra at Granada. The fresco work,

[307] Temple archive document. Mary Sayre Haverstock, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, eds., *Artists in Ohio: A Biographical Dictionary 1787–1900* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 669.
[308] Haverstock et al., *Artists in Ohio*.
[309] Haverstock et al., *Artists in Ohio*. The stencil painting was redone by Raphael and Charles Pedretti in 1890, and again by Raphael Pedretti from 1907 to 1914. Other projects also included private residences around Cincinnati and public buildings, including The Second National Bank Building and the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce.
[310] Wischnitzer, *Synagogue Architecture in the United States*, 7.
[311] Chaim M. Rosenberg, "The World's Columbian Exhibition," in *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 63–80.

> which is very brilliant and beautiful, was completed in 1874 at a cost of $9,000. The temple is beautifully lighted with thirteen handsome chandeliers and lights on the pulpit and altar.[312]

The building is unique in Cincinnati, since it is the only structure with Oriental architecture. There are other buildings with neo-Gothic and neo-Byzantine elements in the area, and they were also built by James Key Wilson, but the minarets in the front of the temple are a unique architectural indicator.[313] After the building was completed, Rabbi Wise wrote the following in *The Israelite* in 1866:[314]

> I would here, however, respectfully remind and impress upon the congregation that, although much has been accomplished, a most important part remains to be done, in order to entirely complete the edifice. I allude to the fresco painting, with reference to which the whole idea of the building has been conceived, and without which the whole interior must remain, comparatively, cold, lifeless and unfinished. It is but justice to the architect to state that, during the entire progress of the work, he has never once lost sight of this important feature, and that over the most trifling detail has been designed with strict reference to the final decoration of the interior in color. When this is accomplished, when those raised bands which form such a marked feature in the building, shall be filled with golden texts from our Sacred Scriptures. When these walls, now so bare, shall glow with patterns of light, and warmth, and color. Then will the great work be entirely completed. Then will it be worthy of the motto of its glorious prototype.

Following the construction of the Plum Street Temple, Jewish communities began to want their sacred structures built according to the Islamic revival style, something which strengthened their connection to their European counterparts and which magnified the influence of Islamic ornamental elements on North American synagogue architecture.

3.3.6 The Central Synagogue, New York

New York, like Cincinnati, became a place of new opportunity for European immigrants.[315] Two of these new émigrés were Leopold Eidlitz and Henry Fernbach. Eidlitz was born in Prague and educated at the Vienna Technical University. He immigrated to America in 1843

---

[312] Daniel J. Kenny, *Illustrated Guide to Cincinnati and the World's Columbian Exposition* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1893), 127.
[313] Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 111. Other examples built in Cincinnati by Wilson include the First Presbyterian Church and Spring Grove Cemetery and Arboretum, which is designed in a Gothic revival style.
[314] Isaac M. Wise, *The Israelite*, September 28, 1866, Cincinnati: Ohio: Chas. F. Schmidt & Co.
[315] The German Jewish community played an important role in New York. By the end of the nineteenth century, it moved from downtown to uptown and was more prominent and established than the other new Eastern European immigrant communities.

and was one of the founders of the American Institute of Architects.[316] Fernbach was born in Germany and immigrated to New York in 1850.[317] By this time, there were approximately 60,000–80,000 Jews in New York.[318] In 1866, the two architects designed Temple Emanu-El, the second Islamic-styled temple for the German-speaking Reform community in New York. Temple Emanu-El merged Gothic, Romanesque, and Moorish styles as seen in a surviving photograph and an architectural fragment currently in the Bernard Museum of Judaica in New York (Fig. 73).[319] Other noteworthy elements within this synagogue are the Tiffany & Company designs for the stained-glass window, the ark doors, and the silver objects (Fig. 74). Tiffany designs for Jewish congregations in America were prevalent at this time, and they received Judaica commissions until 1926.[320] The stained-glass window depicts two large tablets and is flanked with Moorish archways; the colors used display a variety of bright opalescent textured glass. The Tiffany ark doors were installed in 1890, and are unique because of their intricate Islamic ornamental motifs.[321] The synagogue building was demolished in 1927 as a result of serious structural problems and the growing size of the community, which simply required more space. The unique pieces and features, however, were reinstalled in the new building in 1929.[322]

Fernbach designed the Central Synagogue in 1872 (Fig. 75). He designed a synagogue with Oriental influences as seen in Europe. For example, the exterior emulates the Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest. New York City's Central Synagogue was part of the legacy of exotic revival styles in Europe and North America. In the 1872 July publication of *Harper's Weekly*, an article depicted an engraving of the Central Synagogue on Lexington Avenue. It provided the following description:

> We give on this page an engraving of the Jewish synagogue recently erected in this city at the corner of Fifty-Fifth Street and Lexington Ave, from designs of Henry Fernbach. The ground dimensions are 140 x 93 feet with an extreme interior height of 62 feet. The windows are filled with rich glass and the east end is ornamented with a

[316] Kathryn E. Holliday, *Leopold Eidlitz: Architecture and Idealism in the Gilded Age* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 25. See also Fredric Bedoire, *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture, 1830–1930* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1994), 424.
[317] Bedoire, *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture*, 424–426.
[318] Bedoire, *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture*, 421.
[319] Cissy Grossman, *A Temple Treasury: The Judaica Collection of Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1989), 9.
[320] Patricia C. Pongracz, "Louis Comfort Tiffany's Designs for American Synagogues (1889–1926)," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 51 (2016): 148–161.
[321] *American Architect* 98, no. 1825 (1910): 200.
[322] Grossman, *A Temple Treasury*, 7. Although the new building did maintain some Oriental elements in the ceiling, the overall architecture and ornament used a variety of revival styles. See Samuel Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community* (New York: Rizzoli, 2003), 68–75.

> beautiful rose-window. The cost of the synagogue was about $300,000 and it will seat 1,500 persons.[323]

The Central Synagogue's interior design has a wide central nave; the walls are stenciled with a variety of lozenge vegetal patterns; and the ceiling is decorated in a star pattern (Fig. 76). The building's look is very subdued when compared to the Plum Street Temple. While in Ohio synagogue's ornament merges with Byzantine, Gothic, and Islamic patterns, this New York synagogue's wall patterns are much simpler. In the Plum Street Temple, the ornament combinations, especially compared to the Spanish Synagogue in Prague or the Rumbach Synagogue in Budapest, are quite complex and so make for elaborate interiors. However, the main ceiling design in the Central Synagogue, for example, resembles a starry sky, which possibly suggested the heavens; it is devoid of geometric pattern. The ceilings between the upper and lower galleries display large eight-pointed stars are painted in yellow with each star point filled with a stenciled arabesque motif. A knotted motif is at the center of the star, which is painted red, yellow, and white. The ornamentation is stenciled with colors including variations of red, gold, light brown, brown, and blue, and is a hybrid of Western and Islamic-revival decoration with the stained-glass windows enhancing the wall surfaces. The current stenciled patterns were reproduced and constructed from archival photographs of the synagogue.

On the walls there are polychrome geometric patterns painted in gold and yellow. which suggests a possible interpretation of the Alhambra. The overall wall patterns are divided into two types. Along the upper portion of the wall, between the horseshoe and the stained-glassed windows and the ceiling, the pattern integrates repeated stenciled lozenge and arabesque shapes into the border above. The bottom half of the wall is also created with a stencil, but the pattern is constructed from a thread-like outline or narrow red six-pointed star with smaller six-pointed stars within each star formation (Fig. 45). Unfortunately, there was a fire in 1998, which resulted in a full reconstruction of the interior design. There is now enriched plasterwork above the cast iron columns and around the windows, further elaborating the decorative scheme of patterns used. The patterns were created with over 5,000 stencils (approximately) and were applied by hand. Stenciling is an old technique and by the nineteenth century it was used as an economical way of coloring and filling in large surfaces. The stencil can be a design for patterns and an instrument to produce them. Therefore,

[323] "The New Synagogue." *Harper's Weekly*, July 6, 1872, 532.

designers, artists, and architects from the nineteenth century were advocates of stencil work as a reliable and affordable method of decoration.[324] This is well documented in the synagogue archives such those of the Plum Street Temple in Ohio and the Central Synagogue in New York. Unlike the interiors of pre-emancipation synagogues, there was a different ornamental process and different influences, and the painters did not produce freehand, painterly, folkloric forms and shapes.

As with the other case studies mentioned above, the patterns found in James Cavanah Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* published in 1815 (Fig. 77) and Jules Goury and Owen Jones's drawings and chromolithographs of the Alhambra (Fig. 78)—and possibly his *Grammar of Ornament*—are important reference points for the ornament used in American synagogues.[325] Following the Plum Street Temple and the Central Synagogue, the Islamic revival styles continued to be used in Jewish sacred structures throughout the rest of the United States. By the end of the nineteenth century, hundreds of Islamic-inspired synagogues were built across the United States including in towns in North Carolina, Oregon, Georgia, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Texas, Missouri, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Most of these synagogues are no longer standing, having been reclaimed or simply destroyed.[326] Radical changes within synagogue design and construction continued to blend ornamental and architectural styles, almost without any sense of logic, merging Neoclassical, Romanesque, Egyptian, Islamic, Gothic, Art Nouveau, and Art Deco principles.[327]

One of the most prominent features of US synagogue interiors are the polychrome walls. They are colorful flat painted patterns found on engravings of Islamic architecture. The interior wall patterns used in synagogue interiors were inspired by Middle Eastern forms and

---

[324] Roberta A. Mayer, *Lockwood de Forest: Furnishing the Gilded Age with a Passion for India* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 173–184; Sara Martinetti, "Pattern," in *Textile Terms: A Glossary*, ed. Tristan Weddigen, Mateuz Kapustka, Anika Reineke, and Anne Röhl (Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2017), 187–190. Lewis F. Day, "The Application of Ornament," *The Decorator and Furnisher* 18, no. 4 (1891): 136–138. See also Eric Kindel, "Fit to Be Seen: Stencils for Architects, Engineers and Surveyors," *AA Files* 61 (2010): 100–109; and Jan Jennings, "Controlling Passion: The Turn of the Century Wallpaper Dilemma," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (1996): 224–245.

[325] Olga Bush, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (2004): 180–201.

[326] Ivan Kalmar, "Moorish Style, Orientalism, the Jews and Synagogue Architecture," *Jewish Social Studies* 7, no. 3 (2001): 68–100, especially 85–86.

[327] Samuel Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community* (Rizzoli, 2003), 86. Additional synagogues include the Eldridge Street Synagogue in New York, Congregation Rodeph Shalom in Philadelphia, and Temple Adath Israel in Owensboro, Kentucky. For further literature on American synagogues, see Jack Wertheimer, ed., *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Marc Lee Raphael, *The Synagogue in America: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

created a rich carpet-like surface.[328] Flat decoration is common in the Islamic arts and can be comparable to a skin that covers all the surfaces, walls, pillars, and ceilings.[329] Pattern was an integral aspect in the decorative composition regardless of material, and Islamic geometric ornament transformed wall surfaces.[330] The role of Islamic ornament within a traditional framework is mainly one which creates balance and symmetry.[331] As acknowledged by Oleg Grabar, the purpose of geometric ornament is a simple one: "Geometry, either alone or as a visually dominant theme on a page, was a significant part of the transformation of a text or book into a higher more expressive quality."[332] The decorative transformation that transpired in nineteenth-century synagogues broke the tradition of folkloric forms, shifting the ornamental repertoire to take on elaborate, intricate geometric combinations, thereby creating ornate polychrome interiors as initiated by Gottfried Semper's Dresden example, which was examined above.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the decorative dimension within European and American synagogue interiors. The five case studies selected were chosen for their diverse interpretations of Islamic variety and ornamental adaptation. Islamic ornament was used as a source for synagogue architecture, creating a break with past synagogue decoration. These new motifs became a fixed influence on the decorative programs in synagogues during the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States. Geometric and vegetal patterns were a significant source of design inspiration. These transnational synagogue examples reutilized Islamic ornament in order to create an interior but also a new public identity. There was a duality at play in these communities in Europe and the United States: the architects were able to present a modern appearance without sacrificing the deep roots of Jewish tradition and ritual practice. These architects, Jewish or not, offered a means for communities to appear confident as equal citizens, and the lavish interiors of the synagogues functioned as an intermediary between past (i.e., pre-emancipation) and present in terms of decoration. The architects of these

[328] Clévenot, *Splendors*, 7.
[329] André Paccard, *Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture*, trans. Mary Guggenheim (Saint-Jorioz: Éditions Atelier 74, 1980), 144.
[330] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament: The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University press, 1992), 120.
[331] Clévenot, *Splendors*, 187; Jay Bonner, "The Historical Antecedents, Initial Development, Maturity, and Dissemination of Islamic Geometric Patterns," in *Islamic Geometric Patterns: Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction* (New York: Springer, 2017), 1–152, 3.
[332] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 119.

synagogues were educated in a similar network of academic institutions. Whether educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna like Wilhelm Stiassny, Otto Wagner, Josef Niklas, and Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann, or at the *Bauakademie* in Berlin like Henry Fernbach, the leading architects and designers of the time were to become part of networks of cultivated professionals who were interested in historical revival styles. Furthermore, the circulation of key publications, like the *Allgemeinen Bauzeitung* and Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* expanded on how Islamic ornament was translated and transferred from its original context in Islamic architecture to a new form of architecture. The complex pattern formations were created from a variety of geometric configurations. The construction of simple forms, such as circles, triangles, or squares interlinking hexagons, six- or eight-pointed stars that emerge from polygons, or intricate arabesques and quatrefoil motifs, was conceived as a system of ornamental articulation designed for these synagogue interiors—and these resultant shapes and patterns were a direct result of the above-mentioned architectural publications.

Chapter 4

A New Hebrew Style

The construction of synagogues across Europe and the United States continued to embrace Islamic ornament throughout the nineteenth century until the early 1900s. By the early twentieth century, ornamental forms were already starting to slowly merge with modern decorative influences such as Art Nouveau and, eventually, Art Deco. The exteriors and interiors of synagogue decorative forms blended historical revival influences with modern styles. Art Nouveau moved ornament into a new artistic realm, one that was navigated by lines in a sweeping, curvilinear motion and by geometric shapes; Art Deco would embrace geometry and modern lines.[333] Art Nouveau, endorsed by two Jewish men, Samuel (Siegfried) Bing and Julius Meier-Graefe, both German-born, revitalized the stagnant art of interior design and decorative objects within Jewish and non-Jewish domestic spaces.[334] By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, modern art movements such as the Secession movement in Vienna and Budapest had a large number of Jewish patrons and architects, and European Jewish artists were gradually becoming more integrated into the artistic intellectual life of their respective cities.[335] In 1887, an important cultural event, the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, was put on at the Royal Albert Hall in London. It presented historic documents, ritual objects, antiquities, and manuscripts. Half of the objects were from England with the aim "to promote knowledge of Anglo-Jewish History, to create a deeper interest in its records and relics, and to aid in their preservation."[336] The rest of the exhibition objects, documents and materials came from one of the first collectors of Judaica, classical musician Isaac Strauss.[337] Although this exhibition did not manage to morph into a Jewish museum, it was the first time Jewish objects were put on display to the public.

[333] Stephan Tschudi Madsen, *The Art Nouveau Style: A Comprehensive Guide with Illustrations* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publishing, 2002), 50; Elena Shapira, "Jewish Identity, Mass Consumption, and Modern Design," in *Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, ed. Gideon Reuveni and Nils H. Roemer (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 68–71; Klaus-Jurgen Sernbach, *Art Nouveau* (Cologne: Taschen GmBh, 2012), 12.
[334] Frederic Bedoire, *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture* (Jersey City, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 2004), 195.
[335] Michael Goldfarb, *Emancipation: How Liberating Europe's Jews from the Ghetto Led to Revolution and Renaissance* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 331; Rudolf Klein, *Metropolitan Jewish Cemeteries of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Study* (Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2018), 108.
[336] Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London 1887* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vii; David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 219.
[337] Natalia Berger, *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel Museum, Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 71.

Moreover, following this exhibition Jewish museums were established to display local Jewish art in London, Vienna, Prague, and Budapest.[338] The Jewish museums of Europe flourished from the realization that there needed to be places dedicated to preserving and representing Jewish culture through its artistic achievements.[339] With each cultural and societal shift, Jewish artistic creation changed. In the eighteenth century, for example, decoration was contained to synagogues for private use and established its own ornamental expression. In the nineteenth century, however, ornament was chosen by the architect reusing Islamic forms, and the synagogue represented the emancipated Jew as an equal citizen and therefore a public aspect. These new museums exhibited Jewish objects to the public, offering the Jews the opportunity to be seen not only as equal citizens and individuals but as equally valid members of the various artistic communities in the twentieth century.

Boris Schatz, an artist and Zionist, was born in Lithuania and immigrated to Palestine in the early 1900s. Schatz was dedicated to the idea of creating an art school and museum in Palestine for Jewish artists from all over the world, a place where students would be influenced by the land's biblical history and local flora and fauna. Schatz was influential in cultivating a new Hebrew style. He took the initiative to collect examples of Jewish art and archeology with the purpose of accumulating examples to have at an institution that would display objects to inspire a new generation of artistic individuality, from painting to the applied arts (e.g., carpet weaving and silver and filigree workshops).[340] It is possible that Schatz was influenced by the English reformers of the arts and crafts movement, particularly John Ruskin and William Morris. Before migrating to Palestine, Schatz studied in Paris in 1889, and it is conceivable that the writings of Ruskin and Morris were translated into French during that year.[341] Similar to Ruskin and Morris, Schatz was interested in creating a workshop and studio that would embrace a craft environment with a specific social and aesthetic framework. Around the same time that Schatz created his new arts workshop and studio, Russian art critic Vladimir Stasov published *L'Ornement Hébreu*. Stasov was not Jewish, but he saw the importance of promoting Jewish decoration and ornamental motifs. It

[338] The Jewish Museum in Vienna came in 1895; the Jewish Museum in Prague came in 1906; and the Jewish Museum in Budapest came in 1909 (although in 1896 there was a small exhibition displayed of Jewish Hungarian Art). The Jewish Museum in New York was not established until 1947, although there was an early collection housed in the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1901. See Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 128–151 (Vienna), 195–253 (Prague), and 254–310 (Budapest).
[339] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 3–12.
[340] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 4.
[341] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 338. Schatz also wrote an article on "Crafts and Education" in 1908 (translated from the Hebrew "Haumanut Bachinuch," published on November 11, 1908).

was the new ornamental forms created under Boris Schatz that pushed Jewish art and design into the twentieth century. However, what was unique about the motifs and patterns that evolved from the Bezalel school was that it invited all Jewish artists and craftsmen to work in one place as opposed to having Jewish art be created in many places around Europe in the diaspora. It is this aesthetic shift that serves as the jumping-off point for this chapter. The new Hebrew style was created to embrace new ornamental forms and a new cultural and artistic Jewish identity.

4.1 *L'Ornement Hébreu*

Vladimir Stasov published *L'Ornement Hébreu* with David Günzburg in 1905. Günzburg was from a family of Jewish Russian philanthropists and financiers.[342] The family supported Jewish and non-Jewish artists in Russia, and had a close relationship with many artists, musicians, and art critics, with Vladimir Stasov being among the latter group.[343] Stasov, a supporter of the Russian Realist art movement, considered Russia an intrinsic part of the East and therefore believed that there should not be a separation of peoples. He maintained that Russia shows Asian influences in language, architecture, and furnishings, and, furthermore, since Stasov saw Russia as an important geographical link to the East, he became very interested in Jewish art and culture.[344] Stasov also believed that Jewish culture was "noble, pure, non-European" and that it "was waiting for representation in high art."[345] Stasov and Günzburg's text was the first publication on Jewish ornament. *L'Ornement Hébreu* is a fairly well-known text within Jewish Studies and was a personal project that Stasov felt was missing from the anthologies of ornament. *L'Ornement Hébreu*'s completion date was actually earlier, but Günzburg and Stasov did not get it published right away. They stated the following:

> Our hope was to not be disappointed again; the waiting has lasted for almost a generation, we have gleaned here and there, we have been able to support our conviction of more facts, but we regret bitterly the lost years—lost thoughtlessly perhaps by the fault of whoever draws these lines. Public misfortunes or reverses of fortune, of cruel crimes, anguish of every hour, have stained the stumbling-blocks of the path of my life; I have

[342] Sometimes spelled "Ginsburg" or "Gunzburg," depending on the source.
[343] Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn, ed., *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 89–90; Brian J. Horowitz, *Jewish Philanthropy and Enlightenment in Late-Tsarist Russia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 73–75, 141–143.
[344] Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism and Utopianism in the Twentieth Century Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 63.
[345] Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 63.

> suffered a lot for myself and for others; it is the only excuse I can bring to the silence that I have guarded despite the harsh criticism.[346]

This is the only text to categorize Jewish ornament. Stasov was not entirely wrong in stating that many had negative thoughts toward the visual culture of the Jews, even some Jews! He also used the term "Hebrew style or Hebrew decoration," not "Jewish," and thought there was a natural unity in the formation of its design.[347] Stasov became a promoter of Jewish art and decoration through his interest in Slavic and Eastern culture. By examining cases of Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, Stasov created a book of ornament with the idea of spreading his theory that there was a natural artistic tradition of the Jewish people that had been overlooked.[348] Many of the plates in *L'Ornement Hébreu* come from the collection of Abraham Firkovich. He was a Jewish Russian collector of Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts, and traveled extensively through Russia (Odessa, the Crimea), Israel, and Syria; he also lived two years in Turkey.[349] Firkovich's entire collection was donated to the National Library of Russia. *L'Ornement Hébreu* has twenty-two plates that, according to Stasov and Günzburg, best represent Jewish decoration. The selection of plates presents specimens of mostly biblical illumination.[350] The design of the front plate is an illuminating complex composition with golden ornamental forms. The title, in French, translates to "Ornamentation of Ancient Hebrew Manuscripts" and is designed in a hybrid typography; it is offset with a combination of Jewish motifs such as the Star of David and geometric Byzantine ornament framed with a decorative border with Hebrew and Russian text. The publication also includes plates of Hebrew micrography, which are miniscule letters that form simple geometric shapes such as triangles, circles, and arches (Fig. 79). On Plate XIX (Fig. 80), six squares are depicted with Hebrew text and micrography. Each square contains overlapping, twisted, and woven knot motifs in the corners and as a central motif. The ornaments in this publication show some of the earliest studies of Jewish art found in the Russian National Library of St. Petersburg.

---

[346] David Günzburg and Vladimir Vasilevich Stasov, *L'Ornement Hébreu* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1905), 27. In the foreword to the *L'Ornement Hébreu*, most of the work in the album is a collection of plates that were found in the St. Petersburg Imperial Library, and folios were also located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and the British Museum in London.

[347] Vadim Zinovievich Rabinovich, *Masterpieces of Jewish Art* (Moscow: 2003), 38.

[348] Rabinovich, *Masterpieces of Jewish Art*, 38

[349] Tapani Harviainen, "The Aleppo Codex, and Its Dedication," in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, Volume 1: Biblical, Rabbinical and Medieval Studies*, ed. Jehudit Targarona Borrás and Angel Saenz-Badillos (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 131–136, 131. See also Olga Vasilyeva's article, which provides a detailed description of Hebrew manuscripts found in Crimea during the nineteenth century: Olga Vasilyeva, "The Firkovich Odessa Collection: The History of Its Acquisition and Research, Present Condition and Historical Value," *Studia Orientalia* 95 (2014): 45–53.

[350] Günzburg and Stasov, *L'Ornement Hébreu*, 11.

Stasov and Gunzburg hoped to enrich the history of art; however, it is hard to know to what extent this text was read and circulated. Examples illustrated in *L'Ornement Hébreu* date from the thirteenth to early nineteenth centuries and include work from Spain, Algeria, Russia, Italy, Germany, and Holland. This volume was never intended to be a collection of Hebrew manuscript illumination; rather it was intended to be a selection of what the authors felt reflected the aesthetic aims of Jewish art and ornament.[351] Stasov made the argument that, in order to understand the artistic influences of the Jews, one would have to examine Oriental or Eastern culture (for example, the Assyrians or Babylonians) as there could be influences of other cultures.[352] There was the widely held opinion that Semitic people were poor and that their misfortunes contributed to their artistic expression. However, since Stasov was a promoter of Jewish culture he also might have exaggerated public opinion to draw attention to what he felt should be the correct viewpoint. He drew parallels in his work to savage tribes and Indians and that if even the most rural are accepted through their visual culture so should the Jewish people.[353]

The aim was to increase Jewish artistic self-esteem, which would continue through the 1920s.[354] Russian artists continued the legacy started by Günzburg and Stasov, and promoted Jewishness and Jewish art by having recourse to ideas relating to abstraction, eclecticism, folk art, and primitive art. As for *L'Ornement Hébreu*, the publication's idea was to document Jewish visual longing throughout history. Stasov and Günzburg believed that Jews had a role to play within the visual arts.[355] The importance of this publication was that it endorsed the Jewish artist and Jewish ornament from within a European context, further demonstrating the interest in encouraging Jewish artistic individuality within Europe. The emergence of the Jewish artist increased within the visual arts, particularly within painting during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[356]

---

[351] Rabinovich, *Masterpieces of Jewish Art*, 38.
[352] Günzburg and Stasov*, L'Ornement Hébreu*, 42.
[353] "Nobody has deprived the savage inhabitants of Oceania, the ancient and coarsest Asians and Americans, very red-skinned Indians of the ability for art. The Jews alone were supposed to be considered some inconceivable monster, the Jews whose history is so full and has lived long centuries with tragedy and now bigotry. Such diverse features and elements have never gone without a trace in any nation; they have always left a reflection and imprint on imminent works of art." Günzburg and Stasov*, L'Ornement Hébreu*, 42.
[354] Alina Orlov, "First There Was the Word: Early Russian Texts on Modern Jewish Art," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 3 (2008): 385–402, 387.
[355] Orlov, "First There Was the Word," 387–388.
[356] This included artists such as Polish painter Maurycy Gottlieb and Hungarian painter Isidor Kaufmann. Gottlieb and Kaufmann were known for their realistic portraits of Eastern European Hasidic Jews, as well as their paintings on biblical and religious themes.

4.2 The Bezalel School

By the end of the century, Islamic ornament was slowly losing its aesthetic appeal, but something new was beginning in the East. The idea of developing a new art school and artistic identity was established by two pioneering figures: the above-mentioned Boris Schatz and Theodor Herzl (Figs. 81 and 82). While in Paris, Schatz studied with renowned painter Fernand Cormon, who had worked in the same studio as the famous Dutch painter Vincent Van Gogh.[357] In 1895, Schatz moved to Sophia in Bulgaria after it became independent after five hundred years of Ottoman rule.[358] Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria wanted to revitalize Bulgarian culture and initiated policies aimed at erasing as much of Turkish cultural influence as possible and emphasizing instead ancient Slavic cultural forms.[359] Prince Ferdinand acquired a sculpture from Schatz and invited him to Sophia in 1895 and asked him to assist him in opening an art school. Schatz stayed in Sophia for ten years.[360] Around the same time, the Zionist movement was started by Theodor Herzl, a Viennese journalist who published in 1896 a pamphlet called *Der Judenstaat* or *The Jewish State*. This pamphlet expressed the argument for the development of an independent Jewish state, and the First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland, in August of 1897.[361] In 1903, Schatz presented his idea to Herzl to create an art school in Palestine. This idea was further cemented on a trip to the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 in Missouri.[362] Representing Bulgaria with examples of his sculptures, he believed that with all the countries on display Jewish artists should be included and be able to represent their own homeland. This experience reinforced Schatz's desire to move to Palestine—to go to a place he had never visited before—and start an art school.[363] This romanticized vision of the biblical homeland was at odds with how challenging this new life could be. At the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905 in Basel it was finally decided that Schatz would establish an art school in Palestine.[364]

---

[357] Schatz was also influenced by Gustave Courbet and the realism movement, and he wished to emulate these artistic ideas via Jewish art. Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 332–334; Colta Feller Ives and Alyson Stein, *Vincent Van Gogh: The Drawings* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 122–128.
[358] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 336.
[359] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 336.
[360] At this time, Schatz also became the president of the Zionist Organization in 1900. Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 336; Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 199.
[361] Lawrence J. Epstein, *The Dream of Zion: The Story of the First Zionist Congress* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 36–38.
[362] Also known as The Louisiana Purchase Exposition. See Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
[363] Grace Cohen Grossman, *Jewish Art* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1995), 12.
[364] Nurit Shilo-Cohen, ed., *Bezalel 1906–1929* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1983), 34.

Palestine, under Turkish rule at this time, was fairly tolerant of Christians and Jews and the practice of Christianity and Judaism, and the school was therefore allowed to be created. Schatz and his supporters were allowed to purchase two buildings in the holy city of Jerusalem.[365] The Bezalel School (named after the builder of the Jewish Tabernacle and the first Jewish craftsman, Bezalel Ben Uri Ben Hur) was started in Jerusalem in 1906, and many Jewish immigrants from Europe who had come to live in the Palestine enrolled in the school.[366] Throughout the years of the Bezalel School's existence, there were many high and low points: the school had to close on several occasions due to financial problems, but always managed to reopen. And it is still open today.

The Bezalel artists used their decoration as an expression of their relationship to the biblical landscape of Palestine.[367] The various artistic department heads from the Bezalel School were sent all over to go and learn as many techniques as possible. They went to Damascus to study filigree and to Cairo to study enamel.[368] The Hebrew style was a blend of design concepts, motifs, and foreign technical influences. The goal was to create a new "Hebrew" "grammar" based on influences from the school's Middle Eastern environment. In the workshops and studios, students developed more graphic motifs or icons, which were then used as decorative sources. This is the first time that ancient Hebrew images such the Menorah or Star of David were used as single graphic motifs and also as repetitive patterns. The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts promoted a new kind of ornament, one that incorporated images from folkloric and ancient images and patterns but that merged with traditional craft techniques such as weaving and metal work.[369] The purpose was not to create a "pure" style but a style that reflected the Zionist ideology and modern Jewish Zionist identity.[370] The Jews who migrated to Palestine in the early twentieth century focused on the biblical connotations of redemption and archeology. Here, the landscape also connected to biblical figures such as Moses, David, Ruth, and Judith.[371] With this new migration to Palestine, what followed eventually was a need for artistic representation. The first wave of

[365] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 343.
[366] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 19; B. Z. Eraqi Klorman, *The Jews of Yemen in the Nineteenth Century: A Portrait of a Messianic Community* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 165–180.
[367] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 216.
[368] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 232.
[369] Chaya Benjamin, *Early Israeli Arts and Crafts: Bezalel Treasures from the Alan B. Slifka Collection in the Israel Museum* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2008), 11.
[370] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 244. See also Yigal Zalmona, *Boris Schatz: The Father of Israeli Art* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2006), 30.
[371] Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," *Israel Studies* 6, no. 1 (2001): 55–75, 56.

immigrants to arrive comprised Jews from Russia, who left their home country due to pogroms, and they were followed by Yemenite Jews, who came for much the same reason.[372] The establishment of the Bezalel School led to true Jewish artistic independence.

The aesthetic philosophy behind Schatz's idea was focused on uniting the East and West with a biblical history and modern Jewish history. Therefore, the students at Bezalel created a mixture of motifs, patterns, and decorative methods. The school had three aims: classes for people with some training, classes at night for beginners who would then focus on a specialty, and finally a workshop focused on creating ritual art and all manner of tapestries.[373] Islamic and Jewish influences prompted a new change in ornament and its function, resulting in what became known as the new Hebrew style.[374] The term "Hebrew" was used instead of "Jewish" because it was seen as more dignified.[375] Art Nouveau and the new Hebrew style conveyed a similar theme—freedom or a breaking from the past.[376] Jewish arts and ornament developed a new phase of decoration and ornamentation. This was the first time Jewish artisans started using a blend of styles and resources to form a new decorative identity. By nature, Jewish ornament and decoration incorporates diverse styles, borrowing from different art movements, but there are still forms and ornament that share a unique character. Similarly, while the Jewish motifs from the pre-emancipation synagogues were influenced by the Bible, mysticism, and nature, here, the Bezalel craftsmen were influenced by the Bible and the flora and fauna of their new surroundings, namely, the various topographical features of Palestine. The new Hebrew style had traces of transculturalism, eclecticism, and Orientalism. The invention of the "Hebrew" style was one of Schatz's main goals. Symbols became motifs used within the decoration in addition to the local flora and fauna—for example, the biblical tablets, the Ark of the Covenant, palm trees, and heraldic lions.[377] In addition, the Star of David and the Menorah became not only symbols used within the Zionist circle but also became decorative motifs commonly used on Bezalel-designed objects.[378] Often these symbols and designs were used to create small repeating borders along the edges of objects or as a background. Bezalel objects are now located in the collections of

[372] Klorman, *The Jews of Yemen in the Nineteenth Century*, 180.
[373] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 34–35.
[374] Manor, *Art in Zion*, 69–72. "The terms Hebrew and Jewish are distinguished between a cultural dialog among Jews in Palestine. Hebrew was defined as a Jew of Israel and someone who spoke Hebrew, while Jewish means someone who is from outside of Palestine who lives in the 'diaspora'"
[375] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 19.
[376] Jean Lahor, *Art Nouveau* (New York: Parkstone International, 2007), 30.
[377] Manor, *Art in Zion*, 43.
[378] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 215.

the Jewish Museum in New York, the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and smaller private collections in Israel, Europe, and the United States. For example, the Jewish Museum collection in New York, has a two-toned rug design from between 1906 and 1913. The rug shows a large Menorah as the central image and smaller Menorah lamps as the background. Three Star of David motifs are placed at the bottom of the composition in the position of a triangle framed with a narrow border of blue stars where it says (in Hebrew) "Jerusalem" on the top and "Bezalel" on the bottom. A rug with a similar composition (Fig. 83) is in the collection of the Israel Museum. Here, the carpet design incorporates a palm tree as the central motif with multicolor intertwined foliage enclosed with a thin geometric border. A larger frame incorporates Hebrew words and small animals with alternating abstract forms. The artist's name is written in Hebrew on the upper corner: Max Schatz was an artist associated with the Bezalel School.

One unique characteristic of the metalwork produced by Bezalel artisans was the influence of Islamic metalwork techniques on bronze and silver items that incorporated Yemenite filigree created by Jewish artisans from Yemen as well as all sorts of damascene techniques. The Bezalel artisans designed several metal objects with Jewish motifs and these non-European metalwork practices. For example, a silver Menorah with ornamented silver filigree work: a pair of two lions frame a small Menorah in the center with two priests in the background. Another example is a Hanukkah lamp, where there are architectural motifs framing the top of it and two columns on the side. A third object that is in the collection of the Israel Museum is a decorative plate used for the Passover *seder*, which is designed with an engraved brass. The central plate motif is a large Star of David framed with a circular border of interlaced knots with a larger peripheral border also with an entwined knot design (Fig. 84). Alfred Saltzman and Avraham Baradon, were both students then instructors at Bezalel. They designed objects in a variety of materials including, silver, brass, copper, and objects included bowls, plates, ewers, and vases. The vases and ewers were often bought from local Arab craftsmen and the surfaces decorated at the Bezalel school.[379] Motifs incorporated rounded Star of David motifs and Hebrew text with architecture images, interlaced arches, nature and repeating geometric lines (Fig. 85). Other decorative elements included Hebrew letters developed into a new typographic design. Throughout the different artistic phases in Bezalel, students used artistic influences from East and West.

[379] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 232-239.

The Bezalel School produced many designed objects and created a new generation of artisans and craftsmen. While there was a focus on the object's surface and less on architecture per se, there is one example of a synagogue interior designed by an artist from the Bezalel School. Yaakov Stark, who was born in Poland in 1881, was a relatively unknown artist who immigrated to Israel in the early 1900s. He was also a student and teacher who experimented primarily with typography and decorative forms that blended Hebrew letters and images of Palestine.[380] Stark experimented with Hebrew letters by elongating them, extending them, and shortening them alongside Jewish motifs that were modernized for twentieth-century design. Hebrew typography was also influenced by the Islamic arabesque and especially Art Nouveau, unlike the earlier Jewish ornament from Eastern Europe (Fig. 86).[381] Stark painted one of the few known synagogue interiors, which was for the new Syrian community in Jerusalem in 1912 and 1913.[382] The general structure of the interior was a rectangle with rounded windows. The overall interior design composition was inspired by the twelve biblical tribes of Israel. Each wall was painted in a hazy dark green with an overall pattern composed of the Star of David and the Hanukkah Menorah in the Bezalel style. The upper sections of the walls were framed with interlaced medallions and arabesque motifs with animals and symbols representing the tribes (Fig. 87).[383] In the Center for Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in their digital archive and global synagogue mapping project, there are color and black-and-white photographs of the Ades Synagogue from 1982 (Fig. 88). From 2009 to 2015, the synagogue underwent significant restoration. This example of the Ades Synagogue, which was built by a wealthy Syrian family, is a unique instance of an Eastern European artist designing a sacred space for a Middle Eastern Jewish community. The choice to use a young Polish artist was a unique selection, yet it is possible the new Jewish immigrants from Syria wanted their synagogue interior to reflect a different aesthetic persona, one which encapsulated the new Hebrew style.

Conclusion

The uniqueness of the new Hebrew style stemmed from the reinterpretation of ancient motifs and Hebraic letters for the twentieth century. This was the direct result of what happened after Jews were emancipated, emigrated, and engaged with the visual arts through painting

[380] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 244.
[381] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 215.
[382] Artist File. The Information Center for Israeli Art, Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
[383] Ariella Amar, *The Tribes of Israel* (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish History, 2002; revised ed., 2010), 6.

and in some cases patronage, applied arts, and craft. This shift in the Jewish decorative tradition also demonstrates that Jewish identity and ornamental influences in many ways returned to Palestine. What emerged was the importance of ornament not only as a primary feature of architecture but also as a visual language expressing both artistic individuality and a new artistic transformation within Jewish communities. Ornament was both a key feature of synagogues' architecture, but it was also a key feature of their painted interiors. As discussed in Chapter 3, synagogue ornament was strongly influenced by Islamic architectural surfaces, for example, that of the Nasrid Palace in Granada as can clearly be observed in the Jubilee Synagogue in Prague or the Central Synagogue in New York. Although patterns were reused from their original sources, they offered Jewish communities a new way to decorate their synagogues' interiors. Islamic decoration was a reinterpretation, and it allowed, through the incorporation of Islamic motifs, for a range of forms to be integrated into Jewish synagogue design. However, the aim of Boris Schatz was to develop a new and original Hebrew style. The Hebrew style and the Bezalel artists in many ways created a narrative that came full circle. Both the European and the new Hebrew decorative schemes are representative of Jewish decoration, which underwent so many cultural and artistic shifts.

It should be noted that the only other publication to focus on Hebrew ornament was published in Hebrew and English in 1945. It was entitled *Ornamography: The Principles of Geometrical Ornament and its Use in Decorative Art* by Nathan Ben Zion Havkin, who was a professor of geometry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It illustrated over sixty-four colored plates of ornament for ceramics, mosaics, textiles, carpets, and embroideries. Ben Zion Havkin's text was dedicated to the Hebrew ornamentist Shlomo Yedidya Seelenfreund, who studied at Bezalel during the first few years of its existence in 1906. Seelenfreund was known for his typographic designs, which were similar to those of Yaakov Stark.[384] Havkin's text was influenced by Andreas Speiser's *Die Theorie der Gruppen von endlicher Ordnung – mit Anwendungen auf algebraische Zahlen und Gleichungen sowie auf die Kristallographie*, which was published in Zürich in 1927.[385] The aim of *Ornamography* was to create a method of combining simple forms into various patterns with the objective of using the relationship between drawing, geometry, and the arts to do so; he was inspired in his work by the work of

[384] Shilo-Cohen, *Bezalel 1906–1929*, 214.
[385] Nathan Ben-Zion Havkin, *Ornamography: The Principles of Geometrical Ornament and Its Use in Decorative Arts* (Jerusalem: Haoman Press, 1945), 3.

the artists of the Bezalel School.[386] The complexities of ornament design were woven into the various cultural landscapes from the early nineteenth century in Europe to the early twentieth century in Palestine. The symbols and ornament incorporated into the Bezalel decorative framework were original, in the sense that they were meant to be themes that would relate to the geography of the land and connect with the Jewish-Zionist identity as it developed in the early twentieth century. The stylistic motifs and craftsmanship were influenced by their new environment, the biblical East.

In the early years of Bezalel, Boris Schatz was also a visionary who saw the value in Jews having a unique form of artistic expression. The intention of the school was to cultivate Jewish artisans in a Jewish school and advocate their artistic contributions. While Vladimir Stasov and David Günzburg, saw Hebrew ornament as an intrinsic part of the history of ornament, Schatz fostered the groundwork to continue Jewish art into the twentieth century. In many ways, *L'Ornement Hébreu* and the designs of the Bezalel School do not connect. One focused on ancient illuminated manuscripts, while the other invented different forms and symbols to configure a new artistic individuality. Yet together both moved Jewish art forward. If one was to map the many shifts and migrations in Jewish history, one would have to pay attention to the many movements of Jewish creative impulses. While synagogues in the pre-emancipation period kept their decoration hidden from the world, Stasov and Schatz made it accessible. The new Hebrew style was a point of departure for creating new aesthetic possibilities.

[386] Ben-Zion Havkin, *Ornamography*, 5.

Conclusion

This study set out to define the changes in ornament found on the interior walls of synagogues in Europe and the United States from the emancipation period to the early twentieth century. The prevalence of interior decoration in synagogues was constructed in two different aesthetic phases. One phase signified a spiritual environment influenced from Jewish liturgy and nature designed by Jewish craftsmen, and the other signified a spiritual environment that developed from nineteenth-century Islamic design sources, culminating in a shift in aesthetic experience and decorative vocabulary and a new style of Hebrew ornament. Jewish art and ornament are part of a multicultural and transcultural experience, and the motifs and symbols displayed in these synagogues illustrated a complex amount of aesthetic data. The ornamental repertoire found in pre-emancipation synagogues from the late sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was filled with flora and fauna motifs. Initially, synagogue decoration in the pre-emancipation period was designed for a private aesthetic experience. The painters such as Jacob Yehuda Lev, Mordecai of Kracow, and Meir ben Judah Leib of Zülz were essential to the Jewish communities and played a leading role in creating synagogue interiors, knowing that they would be experienced only by their members. Symbolism, mysticism, and Hebraic inscriptions also appeared woven into the surfaces, as observed in the synagogues from the Gwoździec or Pińczów Synagogues in Poland to the Horb Prayer Hall in Germany. Animal and floral patterns appeared together as a common visual expression. Animals were particularly popular as Jewish art immersed itself in the atmosphere and interpretation of the natural world,[387] while plant tendrils and floral imagery was used to saturate backgrounds, birds (such as eagles), elephants, lions, bears, and deer, which symbolized attributes of wisdom and protection while creating a menagerie of creatures embedded into the synagogues' various surfaces. Jewish decoration had many recurring elements, and the significance of the ornamentation was tied to tradition and culture.

The paradigm shift from one artistic tradition to another was the result of four components. These included social, political, intellectual, and artistic upheavals, often concurrently. With professional and personal leniencies allowed, such as where to live and obtaining a university education, plus receiving the rights of citizenship, the impact on Jewish

[387] Ida Huberman, *Livings Symbols: Symbols in Jewish Art and Tradition* (Jerusalem: Mondan, 1996), 26.

identity was felt in many communities. There were clearly social and intellectual adjustments, and many Jews sought to live a more secular lifestyle. Throughout the eighteenth century, tensions grew within the Jewish communities, with many remaining affiliated with Jewish traditions and many deciding not to. The modern age for Jews in Europe was marked by internal intellectual tensions, which included debates on religion and secular education. The Haskalah movement represented a significant point in Jewish history where the development of secularism began to surface. By the early nineteenth century, as communities moved closer to urban areas and Jews were living emancipated lives, synagogues became monumental houses of worship in town centers, not hidden from view, and represented a complex web of social and aesthetic factors culminating in a change in ornamental use. All of this happened amid an increased fascination and growing interest in the Orient.

While the Jewish community faced pressures from within and without, an additional shift was partly due to a wide interest in and an increased knowledge of Islamic art and architecture. New methods of cataloguing the Orient included lithographs, photographs, drawings, color prints, and they further circulated knowledge and awareness of Islamic architecture throughout Germany, England, and France. The formation of art history as a new discipline of study as conceived by Franz Kugler and Carl Schnaase increased architects' knowledge of other artistic influences, including, James Cavanah Murphy's *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, which was published in 1815. In addition, Owen Jones and Jules Goury's publication on the Alhambra and Pascal Coste's *Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire* in 1839 focusing on the architecture of Cairo allowed for new information to be circulated transnationally. Additionally, Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* made more patterns available and accessible to architects for all kinds of surfaces. The synagogues from the nineteenth century inherited the decorative and aesthetic absorption of Islamic ornament. This was recognized through multiple interpretations of polychrome ornament of geometric and arabesque patterns. As examined in the Rumbach Synagogue in Budapest, the abundance of alternating bright red and blue panels of geometric and star patterns showed a clear connection to the plates of Owen Jones as did the ornament in the Spanish Synagogue in Prague, whose wall surfaces were filled with dark greens and blues creating an illuminating interior of bands and panels of interlacing circles, hexagons, and stars.

Concerning the synagogues built in the United States, Jews had more social freedom and their synagogues reflected both their new identity as American Jews and their immigrant status. The communities could further reconsider their new American identity and religion,

but they brought their architectural style with them.[388] The Central Synagogue in New York and the Plum Street Temple in Cincinnati were both started by German immigrants and established Jewish Reform communities.[389] The German communities in both cities maintained their oriental building design, which reused similar Islamic varieties as seen in Germany (the Neue Synagoge in Berlin) and Hungary (the Dohány Street Synagogue in Budapest).[390] Ornamental motifs enveloped synagogue interiors and appeared woven into the surfaces, evoking a textile-like sensation. Additionally, the aesthetic attraction to Islamic motifs shifted synagogues away from the use of Christian forms.[391] Synagogue surfaces occupy a special place in art history, but they also occupy a special place in the history of ornament and synagogue painted surfaces. Islamic ornament generated a unique synthesis of visual and spatial awareness. Ornament transformed these spaces, presenting a new repurposing of Islamic ornament. The shift from Jewish folkloric motifs to Islamic patterns altered the composition of interiors. The results of this discussion prove that by examining painted synagogue surfaces from the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States an interdisciplinary method grounded in different geographies through a variety of visual materials (postcards, archives, synagogues drawings and newspaper articles) help to map a comprehensive assessment of interior wall paintings and present a concise selection of pattern interpretations. Therefore, this study explored a significant historical and cultural phenomenon in synagogue and ornament history. All of the synagogue case studies throughout this study represent the many layers of Islamic ornament's aesthetic influence in the West—its creation, migration, and translation of forms into patterns that enveloped synagogue interiors.

By examining pre-emancipation and post-emancipation synagogue interiors, this research has assessed the changes in ornament and has provided a concurrent view across centuries and continents of this transformation. A close examination of the archival data has revealed that societal changes from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries affected the interior decoration of Jewish sacred structures. By incorporating Islamic patterns, it has provided a

---

[388] Henry Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America: Faith, Spirit and Identity* (Victoria, Australia: Images Publishing Group), 16.
[389] Michael A. Meyer, *America: The Reform Movement's Land of Promise in Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 225; Olga Bush, "The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (2004): 180–201, 201.
[390] Stolzman, *Synagogue Architecture in America*, 112.
[391] There were other styles and ornamental forms used within synagogues built within the nineteenth century. This thesis has only focused on Islamic motifs used in Europe and North America (the United States).

sense of temporal-societal belonging and cultural acceptance. The transformation of the synagogue interior in the nineteenth century stimulated a new kind of decorative awareness, but in the process the role of the synagogue painter and of artistic individuality was lost. The synagogues examined in Europe and in the United States were built and designed from new knowledge of the Islamic world and were transculturally linked through an ornamental adaptation.

This Islamic revival style was not going to move into the future, and the transformation that took place on painted surfaces in synagogue interiors during the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States would not endure. The wall designs assessed here represent a specific time and place when Jews needed and wanted a new stylistic identity to free themselves from any past societal associations. By incorporating Islamic motifs, the surfaces displayed a variety of patterns ultimately engaging with an appropriation of forms. Although great buildings were consecrated beginning in the 1840s with Semper's example in Dresden, the pogroms and the general anti-Semitic attitudes of the gentile population never fully ceased, even with increasing social acceptance. While the East could be seen as a place of escape or imagination, for some Jews at the time it was a place of redemption and renewal. When Boris Schatz founded an art school, this helped to create a new and original style that was representative of the Jewish immigrants' formation of a new beginning in Palestine.[392]

While synagogue research has acknowledged the cultural phenomenon of paintings found in pre-emancipation synagogues from the late sixteenth century, this research has highlighted the phenomenon of synagogue surfaces from the nineteenth century. This study has shown that Islamic revival synagogues have a special role in synagogue scholarship, even though they caused a break in ornament by altering the decorative compositions through the early twentieth century. The Islamic revival style was in essence a Western design methodology that began in the mid-nineteenth century. Growing European interest in decoration from the East promoted geometric patterns as suitable designs for mass consumption. While Islamic decoration was a significant force within nineteenth-century Europe, the designs and surface patterns were disconnected from their original sources of architecture. The decoration adopted by architects for these growing communities enabled a more public architectural presence. By investigating the change from animal forms to

[392] Berger, *The Jewish Museum*, 329.

geometry and arabesque ornament, and exploring the architectural surface patterns, this research contributes to the wider ornamental canon of Jewish art by focusing on decorative surfaces in architecture and objects in Jewish spaces. This focus reveals the interconnected relationship between architecture, object, and craftsman, engaging with the complexity and timelessness of Jewish art. Although this period lasted less than a hundred years, to borrow Oleg Grabar's phrase, the synagogues from the nineteenth century were in many ways an intermediary. They were the transition from the pre-emancipated Jew to the post-emancipated self, enabling Jewish art to move forward.

Illustrations

Figure 1.
El Lissitzky, *Fragment of the Wall Painting in the Mohilev Synagogue*, 1916,
Collection of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, The Boris and Lisa Aronson Collection.

Figure 2.
Lukiv Synagogue, 1781, Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Neg. No. 18864.

Figure 3.
Lukiv Synagogue, Detail of Lower Tier, 1781, Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Neg. No. 19216.

Figure 4.
Top: Torah Crown Decorated with Lions, Birds, Imaginary Creatures, Architectural Structure, and Foliate, Poland, 1764, Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.

Figure 5.
Below: Torah Crown Decorated with Eagles, Griffins, and Lions, Poland, 1726, Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.

Figure 6.
Right: Torah Shield Decorated with the Tablets of the Law,
Poland, 18th Century, Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.
Left: Small Torah Shield, Poland, 1806,
Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Avi Ganor.

Figure 7.
Torah Curtain Donated by Moses Mendelssohn and His Wife, Fromet Guggenheim, 1774–1775, Wedding Dress, Silk, Embroidered, Jewish Museum, Berlin.

Figure 8.
Left: Jacob Koppel Gans, *Torah Ark Curtain and Valence*, Bavaria (Germany), 1772–1773, © The Jewish Museum, New York.

Right: Torah Ark Curtain, Danzig (Gdansk, Poland), 1794–1795, Accession Number: D 248, Gift of the Danzig Jewish Community, © The Jewish Museum, New York

Figure 9.
Shimon Zime, *Shiviti Plate*, 1845–1846, Ink, Gouache, and Pencil on Cut-Out Parchment, © The Jewish Museum, New York.

Figure 10.
Israel Dov Rosenbaum, *Mizrah (East) Plate*, 1877, Paint, Ink, and Graphite on Cut-Out Paper, © Jewish Museum, New York.

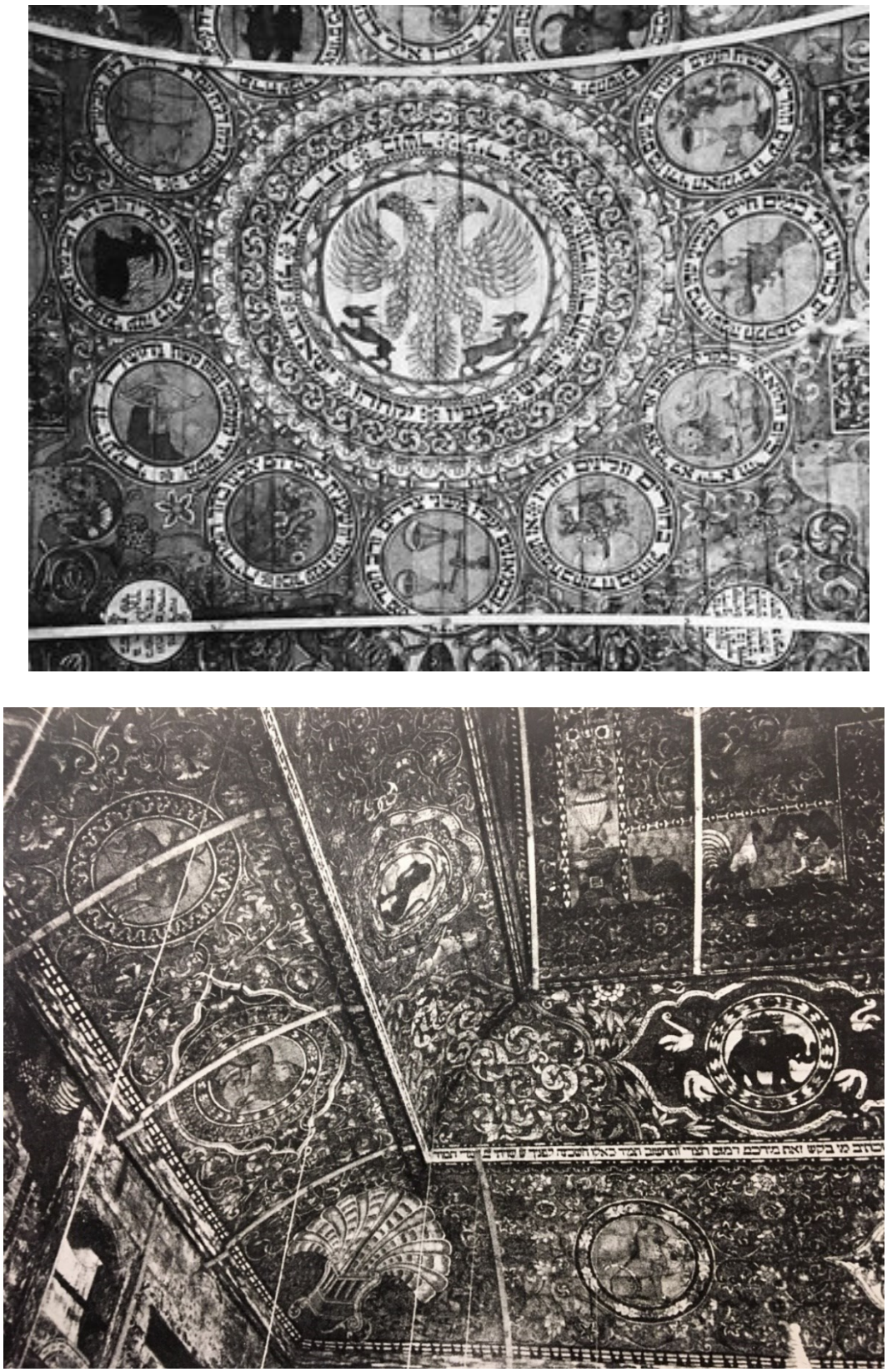


Figure 11.
Alois Breyer, *Chodorów Synagogue*, 1910–1913, Albumen Print,
© Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Israel.

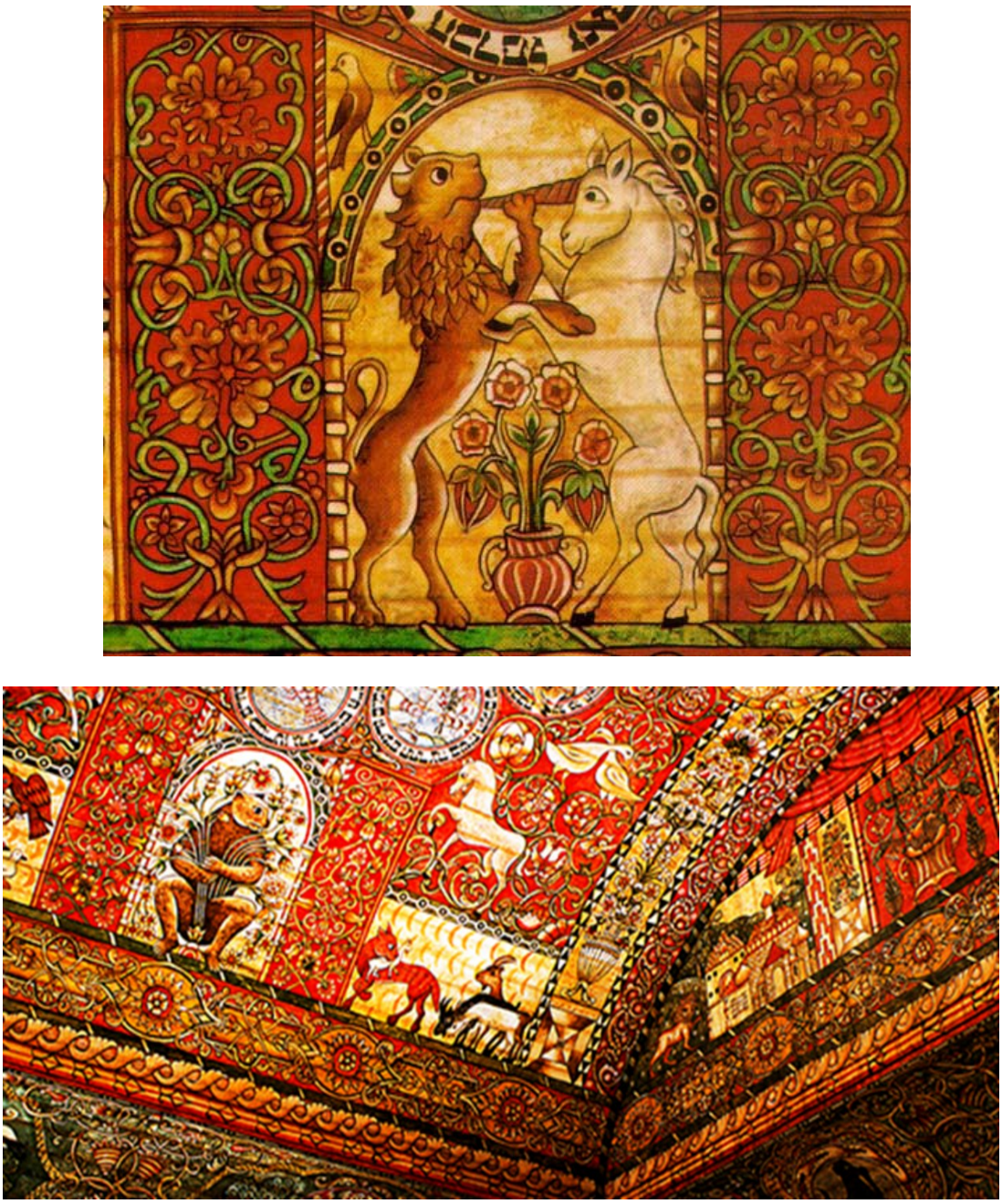


Figure 12.
Israel ben Mordechai Lissnicki, *Chodorów Synagogue Reconstruction*,
© Museum of the Jewish People – Beit Hatfutsot, Tel Aviv, Israel.

Figure 13.
Israel ben Mordechai Lissnicki,
Detail from the Ceiling of the Chodorów Synagogue
© Museum of the Jewish People – Beit Hatfutsot, Tel Aviv, Israel.

Figure 14.
Karol Maszkowski, Three Drawings from the Series
"Wooden Synagogue in the Town of Gwoździec," 1894, Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU), AN PAN i PAU, PAU WI-108, Fot. No. 50.

Figure 15.
Reconstruction of Gwoździec Synagogue in the POLIN Museum 2011-12

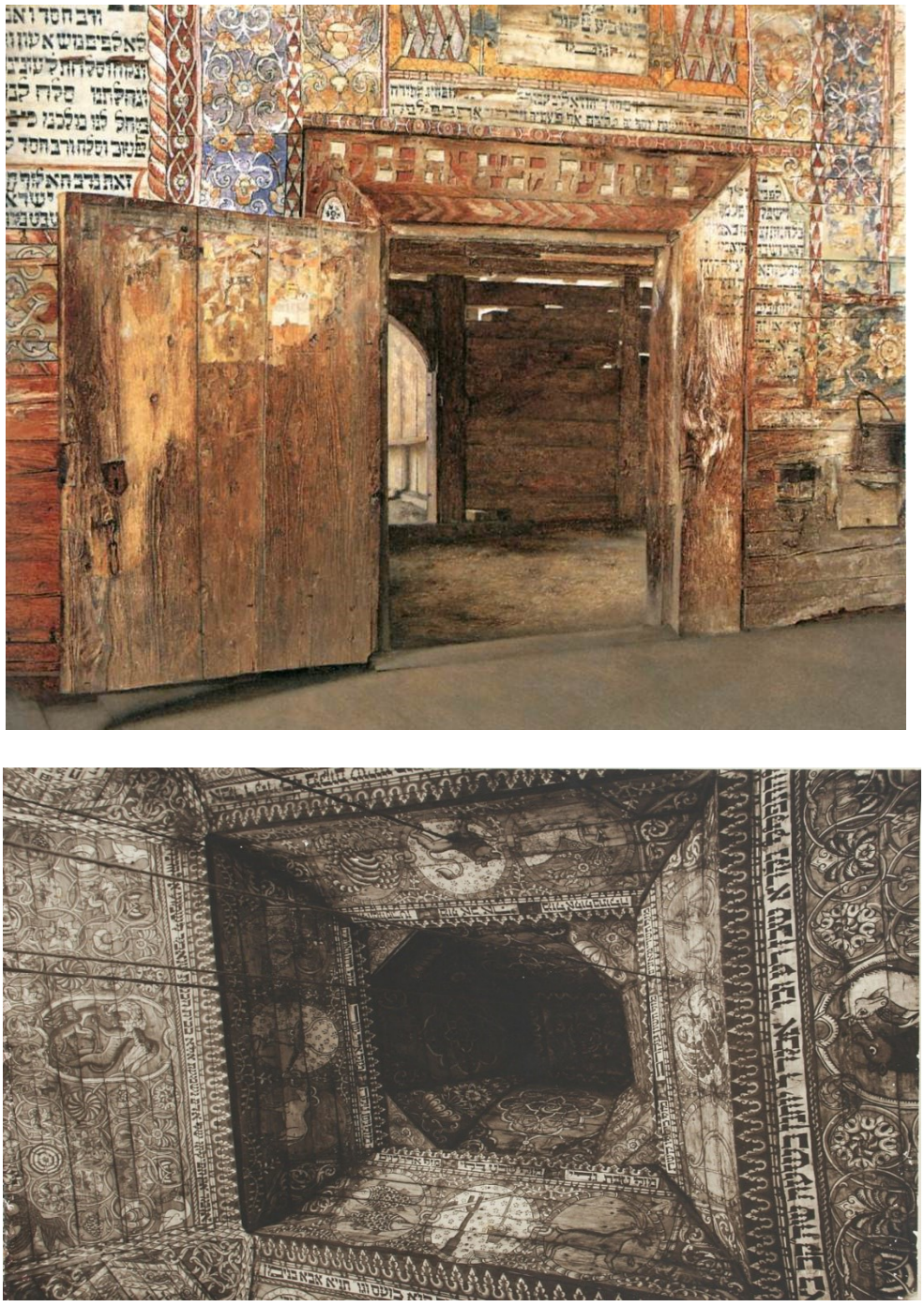


Figure 16.
Top: Isidor Kaufmann, *Door of the Rabbis*, 1897, Oil on Canvas,
© Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.
Bottom: Gwoździec Synagogue Ceiling, Black and White Photograph,
© Handshouse Studio and the Association of the Jewish Historical Institute, Poland.

Figure 17.
Left: *The Goat and the Bear*, 19th Century Reproduction, The Dahl Collection, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg.
Right: Alois Breyer, *Gwoździec Synagogue*, 1914 © The Tel Aviv Museum of Art.

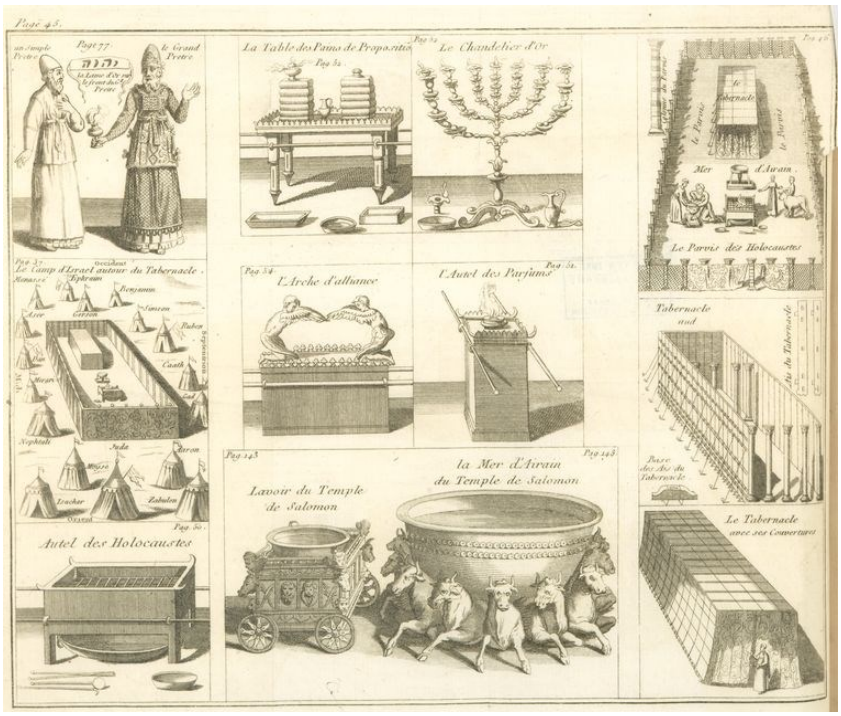


Figure 18.
Above: Joseph Romain Joly, *The Tabernacle with Its Covers*, in *La géographie sacrée, et les monuments de l'histoire sainte* (Paris: A. Jombert, 1784) from The New York Public Library, New York, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-9469-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

Below: Turkish Chamber, Embroidered Tent, 17th century, Ottoman
Dresden State Art Collections, Residenzschloss Dresden.

Figure 19.
Eliezer Sussman of Brody,
Interior of the Horb Synagogue, 1735, Accession Number: L-B68.0002 194/007,
© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Figure 20.
Eliezer Sussman of Brody, *Interior Ceiling of the Horb Synagogue*, 1735.
Photo taken by author.

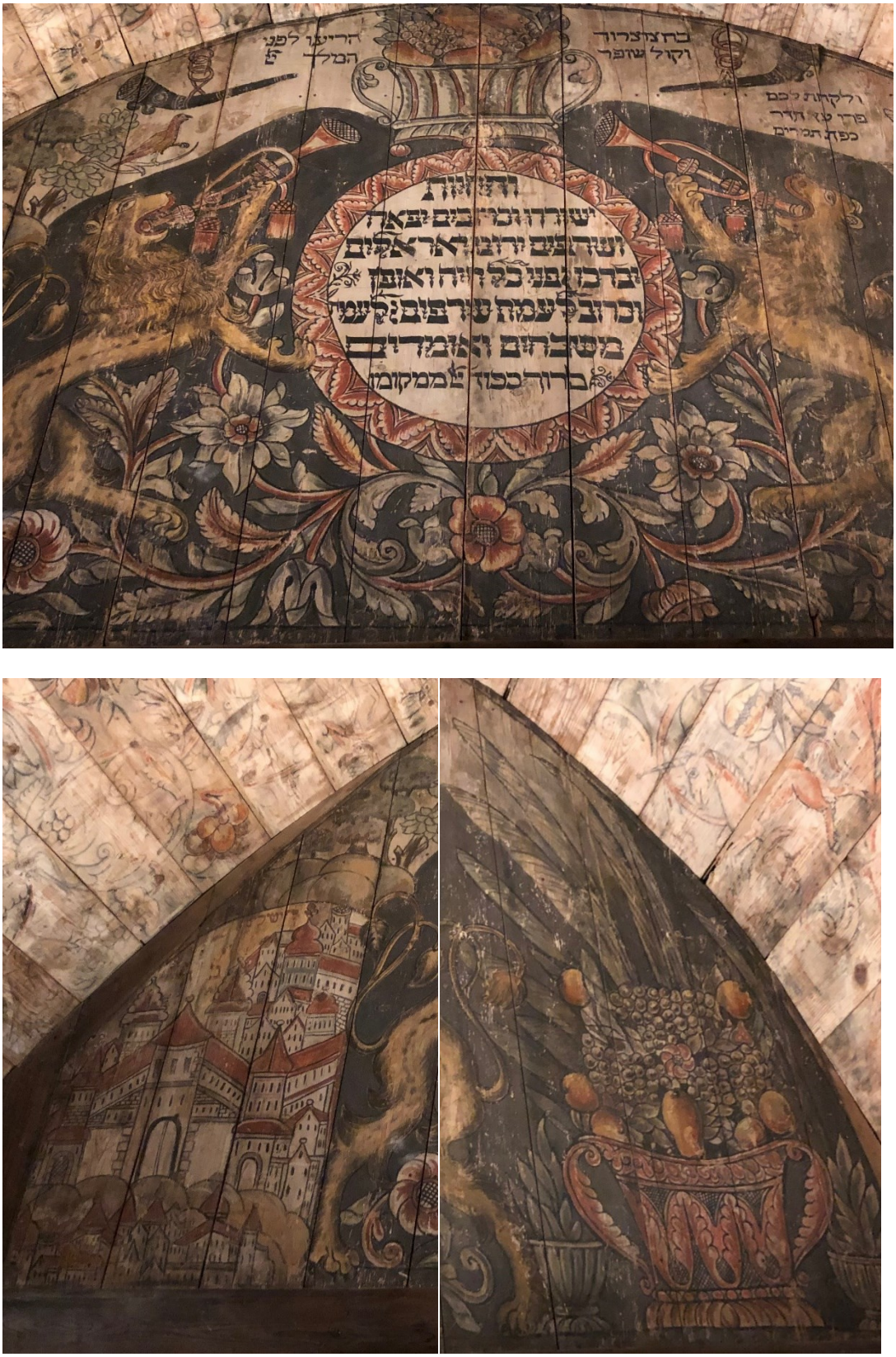
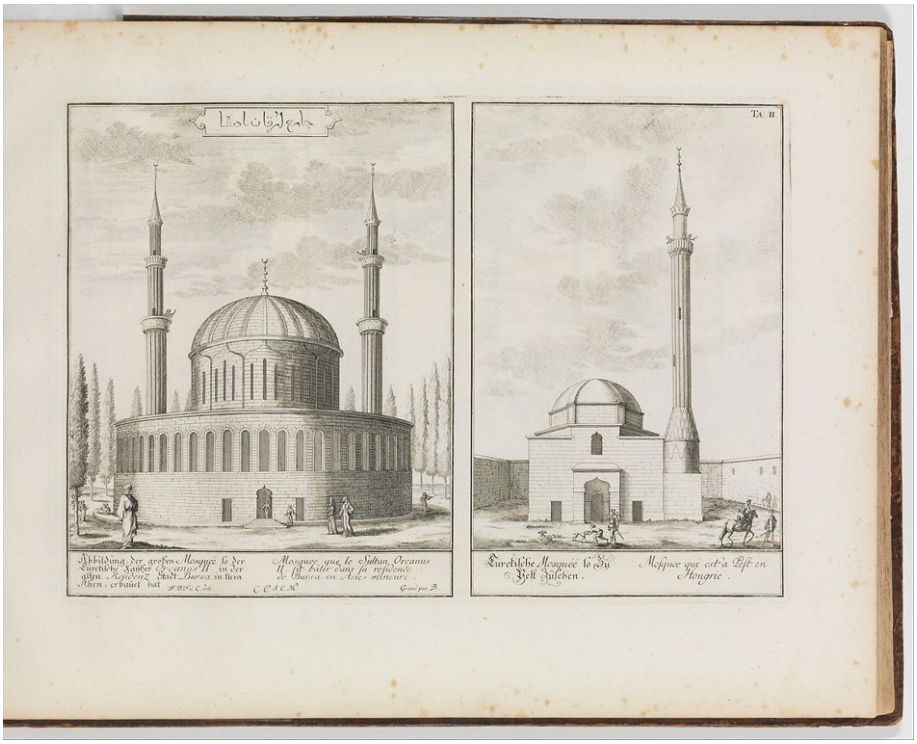


Figure 21.
Eliezer Sussman of Brody, *Interior of the Horb Synagogue*, 1735,
Photo taken by author.

Figure 22.
Mordecai of Cracow and Meir of Zülz, *Boskovice Synagogue, Ceiling and Interior*, 1657 - 1667, Boskovice, Czechoslovakia, © World Monuments Fund, New York.



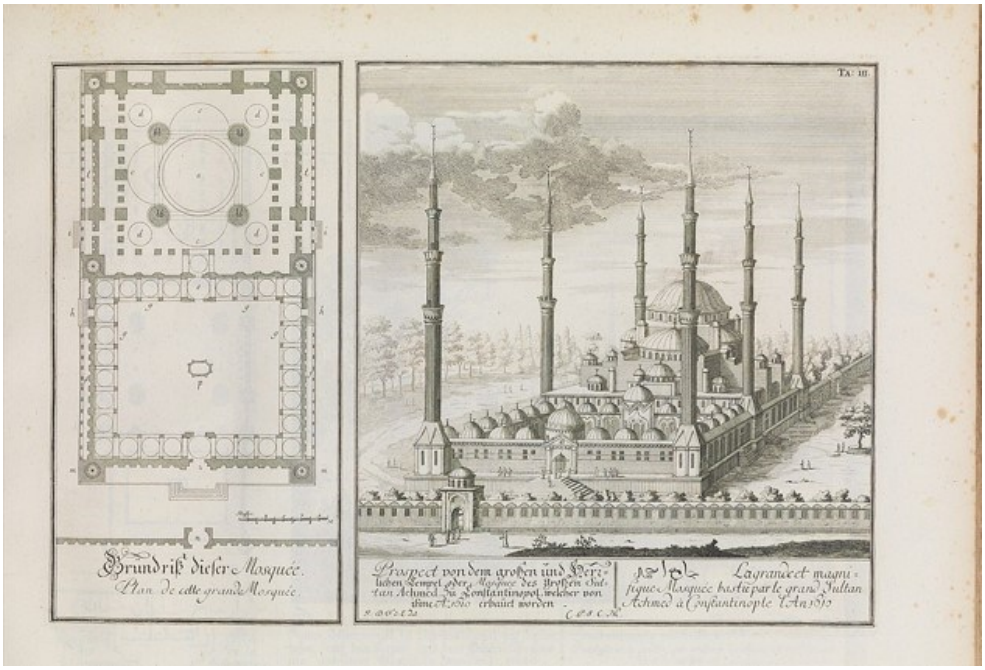


Figure 23.
Top: Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, A mosque of Sultan Orcanus II in Bursa and a mosque or Turkish church. *Bottom*: Plan of the Grand Mosque and the Mosque of Sultan Ahmet, *Entwurff einer Historischen Architectur*, 1721. University of Heidelberg Library, Heidelberg. https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.1612#0078.

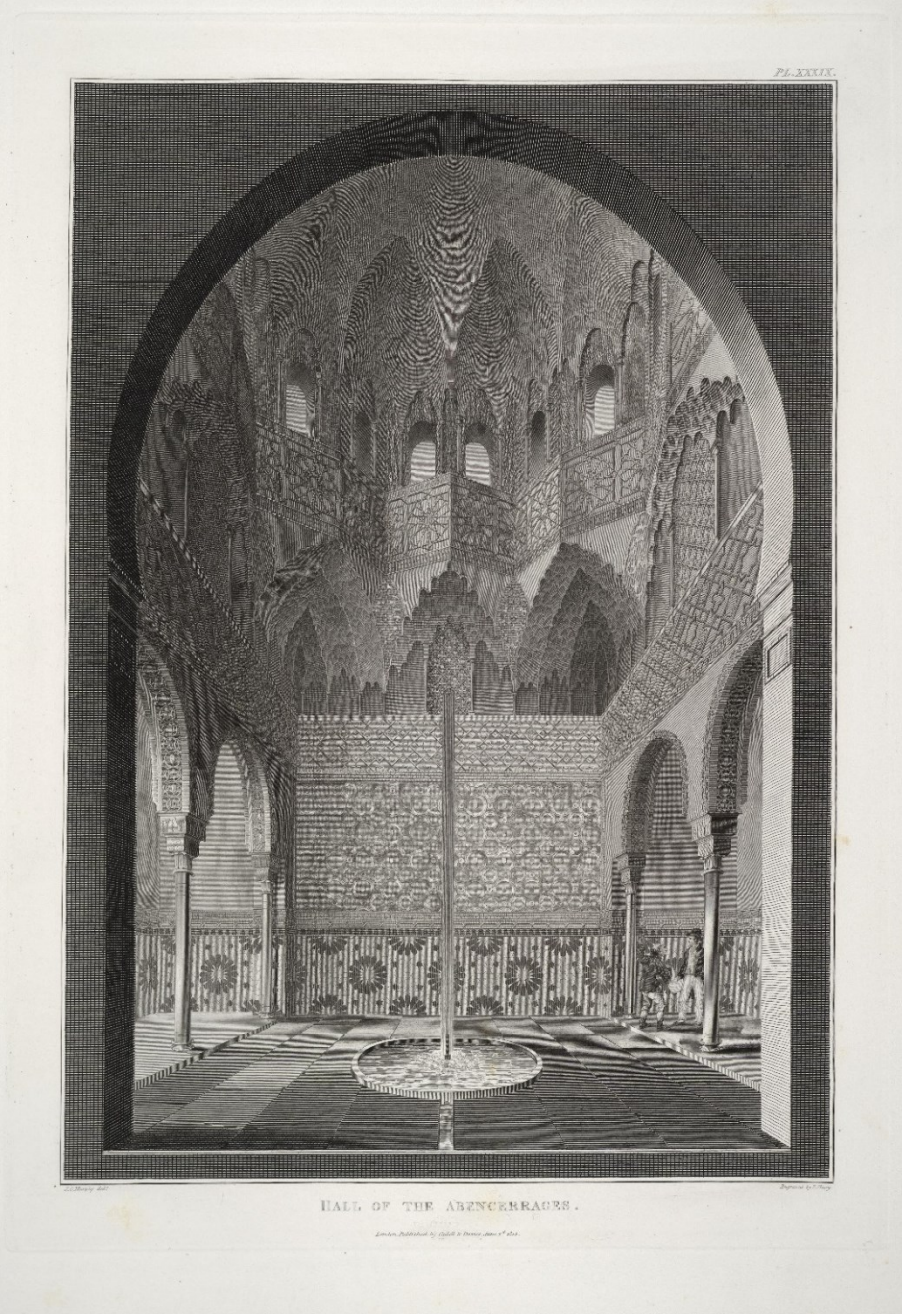


Figure 24.
James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*¸1815, Plate XXXIX, Hall of the Abencerrajes, Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture, University of Wisconsin–Madison Library, Madison, WI.
https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/U2SYBIASELLLX8H.

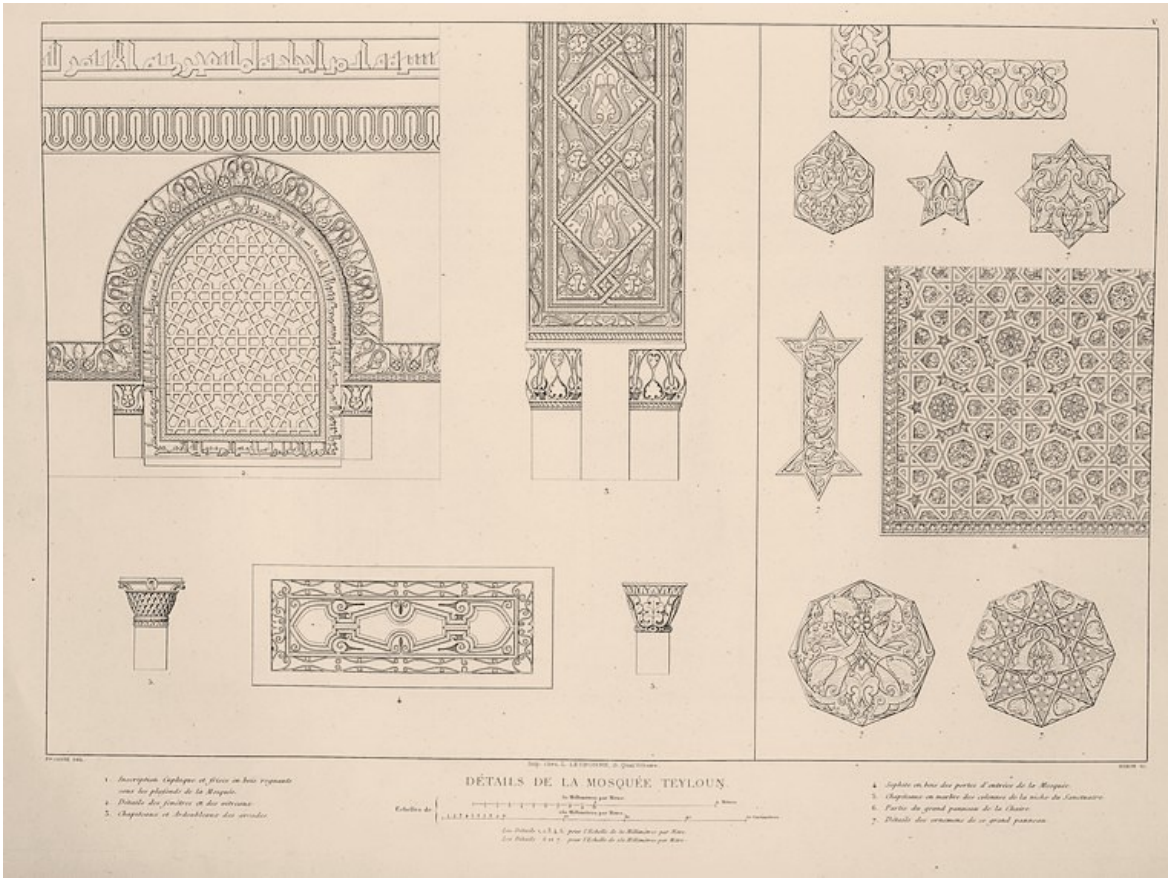
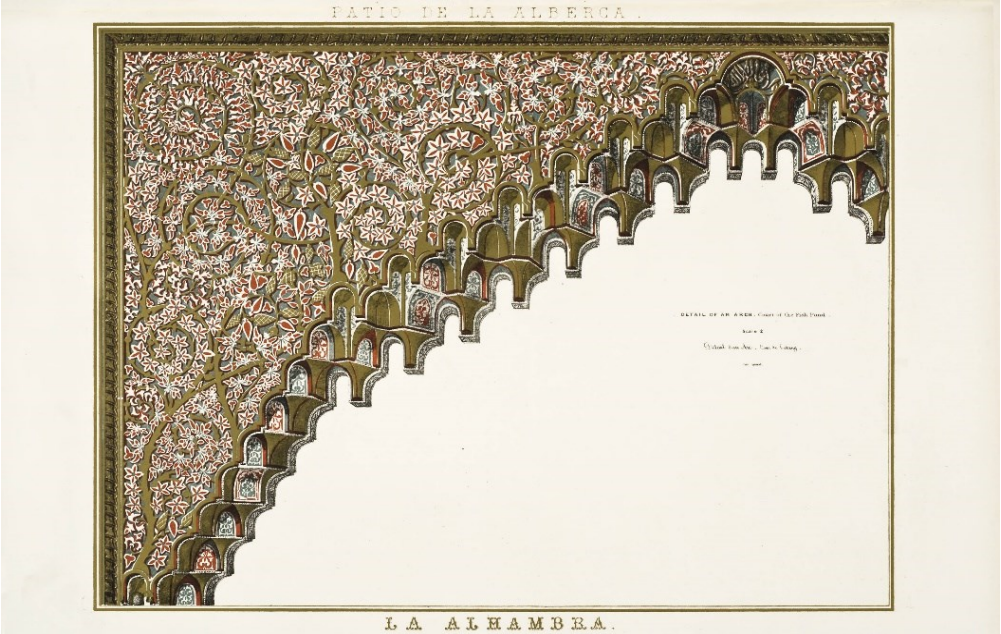


Figure 25.
Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe: ou Monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1825*, 1839, Plate, Détails de la Mosquée Teyloun, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library, New York.
https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-627a-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.



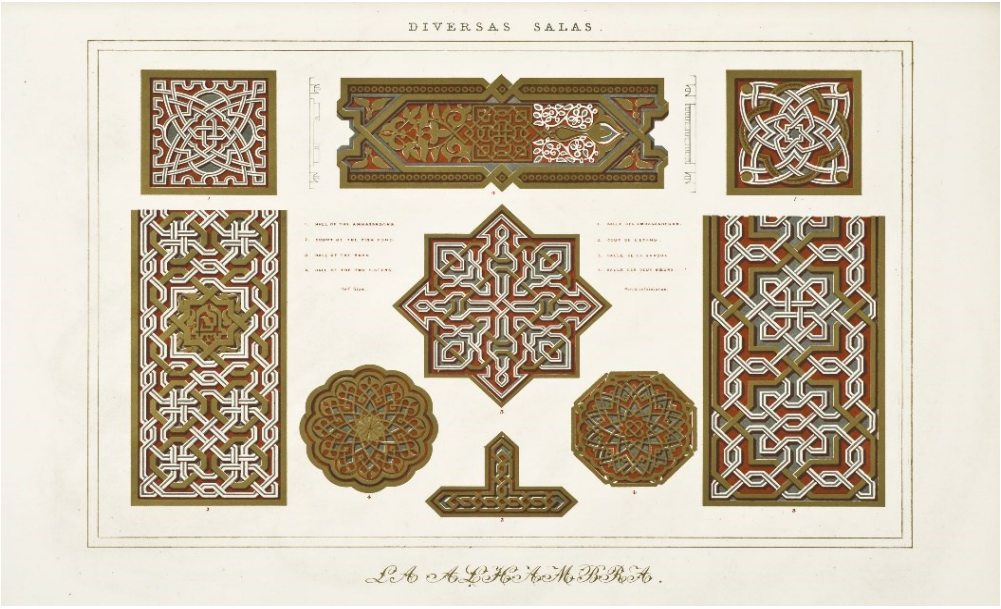


Figure 26.
Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra from Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 and 1837*, 1842, Plate XXX, Patio de la Alberca, and Plate XXXVII, Diversas salas, vol. 1, Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

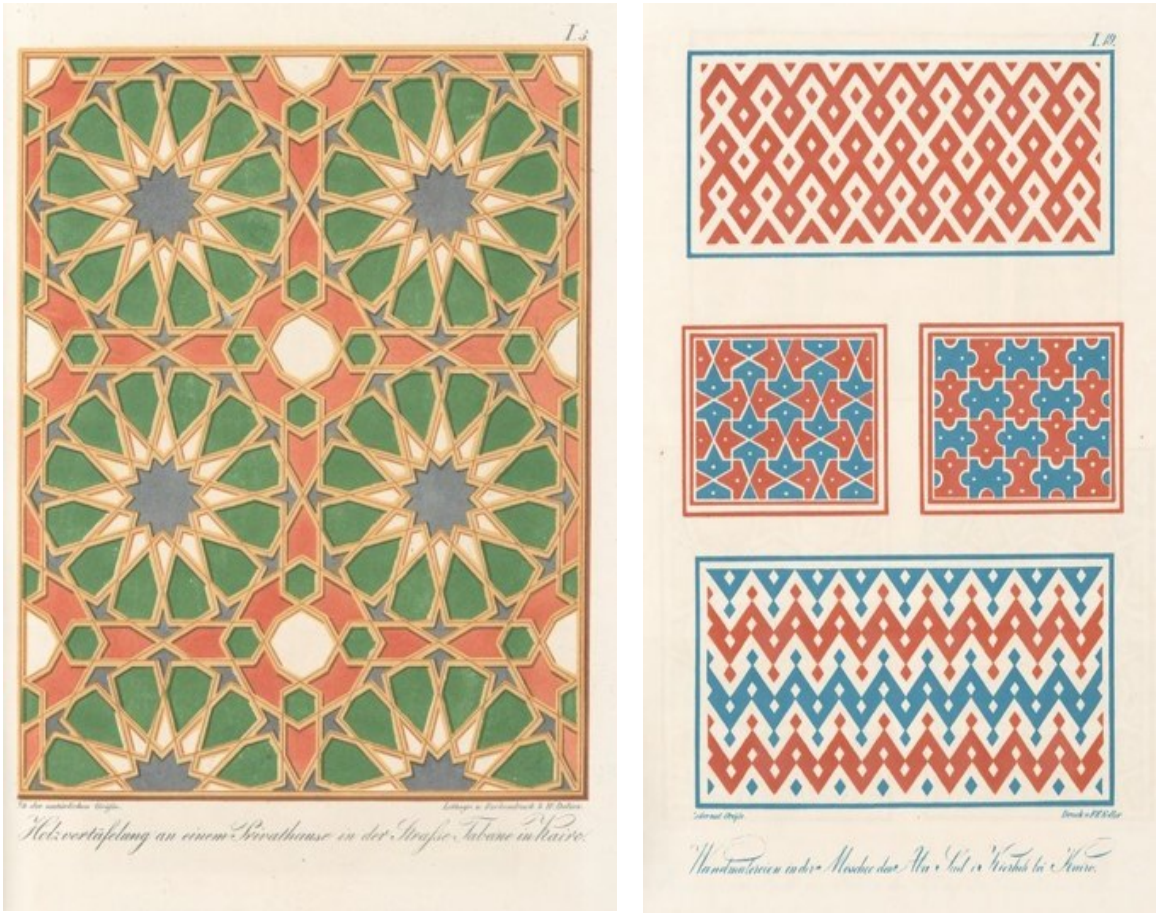


Figure 27.
Friedrich Maximilian Hessemer, *Arabische und Alt-Italianische Bau-Verzierungen*, 1842. *Left*: Wood paneling of private house in Cairo. *Right*: Wall paintings in Mosque of Abu Sud i Kierheh, Cairo. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, New York Public Library, New York. https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47d9-6914-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

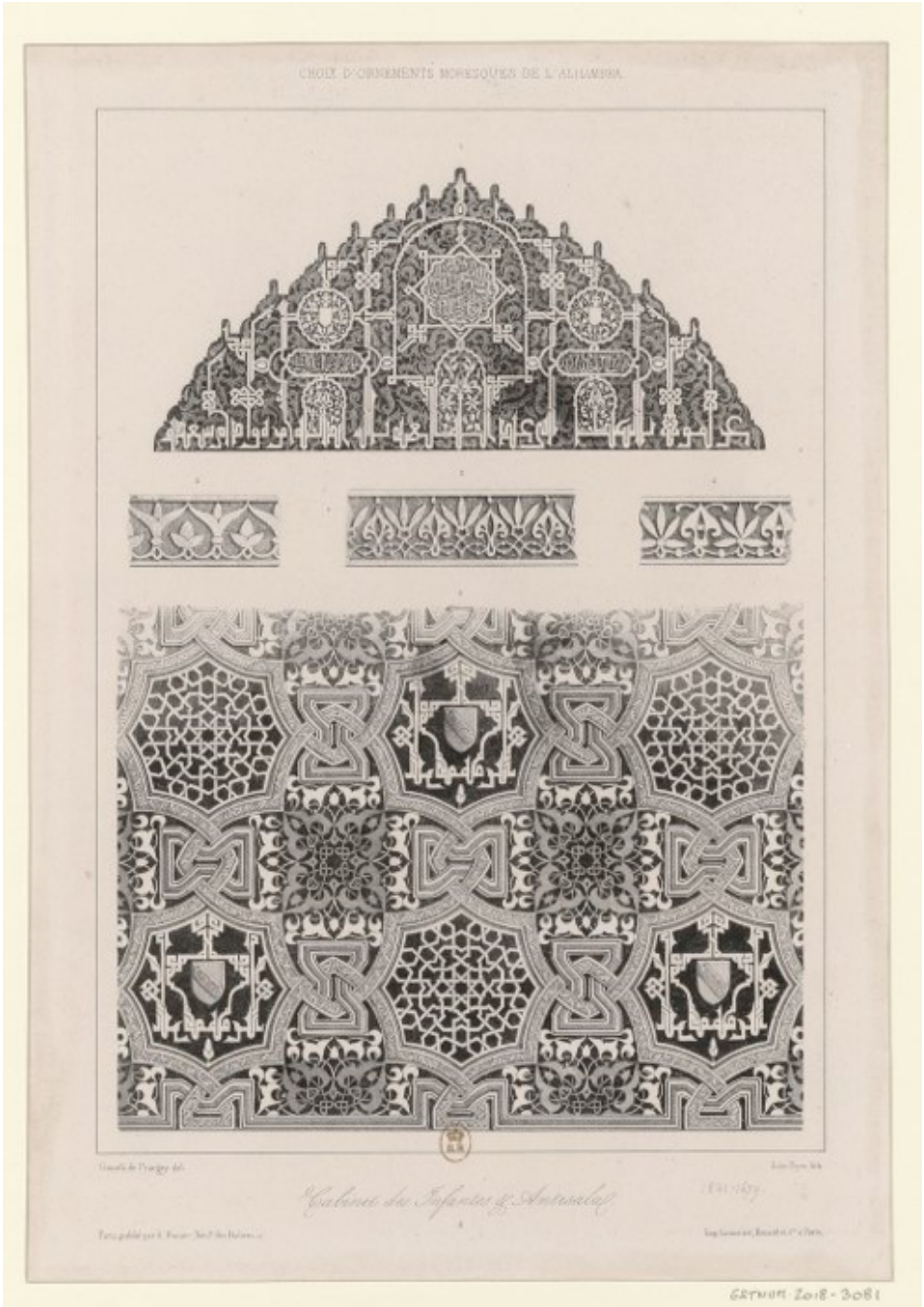


Figure 28.
Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue: Séville et Grenade, dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833*, 1842,
Bayerishe StaatsBibliothek Digital Library,
http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10862655-0.

Figure 29.
James William Wild, Pages from a sketchbook showing decorative details of mosques and domestic buildings in Cairo, 1840, pencil, pen and ink and watercolor, Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, and Department of Paintings, London.
https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1078578/sketchbook-james-william-wild/.

Figure 30.
David Roberts and Louis Haghe, *Egypt and Nubia, Volume III: Interior of the Mosque of the Sultan El Ghoree*, 1849, color lithograph on wove paper, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. https://clevelandart.org/art/2012.257.

Figure 31.
Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, Plate 4, Hagia Sophia, General view of the main nave, looking to the west, 1852, color lithograph (10), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
https://lccn.loc.gov/2004666281

Figure 32.
Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Dome of Khayrbak Mosque*, Cairo, 1843, daguerreotype, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/757483.

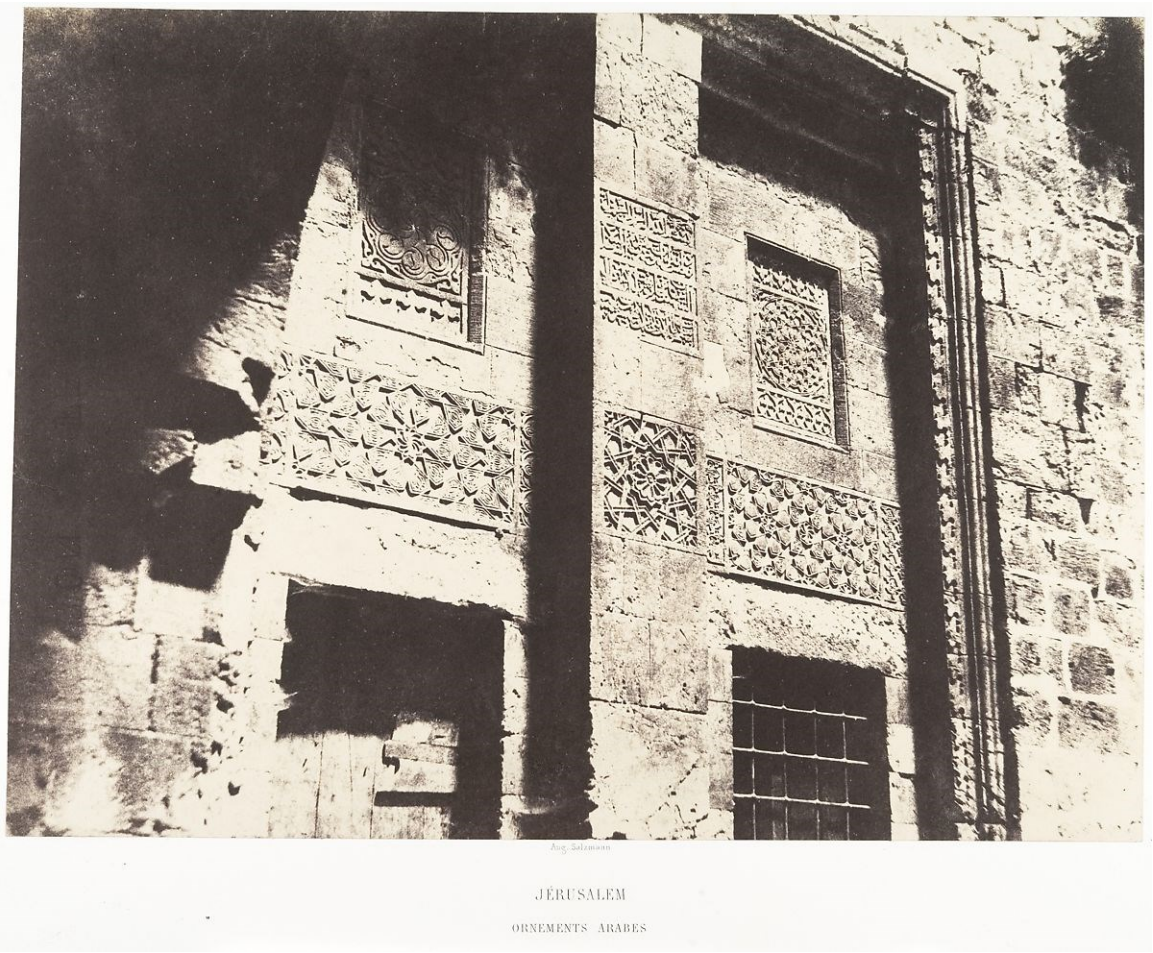


Figure 33.
Auguste Salzmann, *Jérusalem, Ornements arabes*, 1854, salted paper print from paper negative, Gilman Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/287049.

Figure 34.
Francis Frith, *Alhambra. Granada*, mid 1850s, whole-plate albumen print from wet collodion glass negative, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O215780/alhambra--granada-photograph-francis-frith/.

Figure 35.
William Dyce, *Elementary Outlines of Ornament*, 1842, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1262284/elementary-outlines-of-ornament-print-dyce-william-ra/

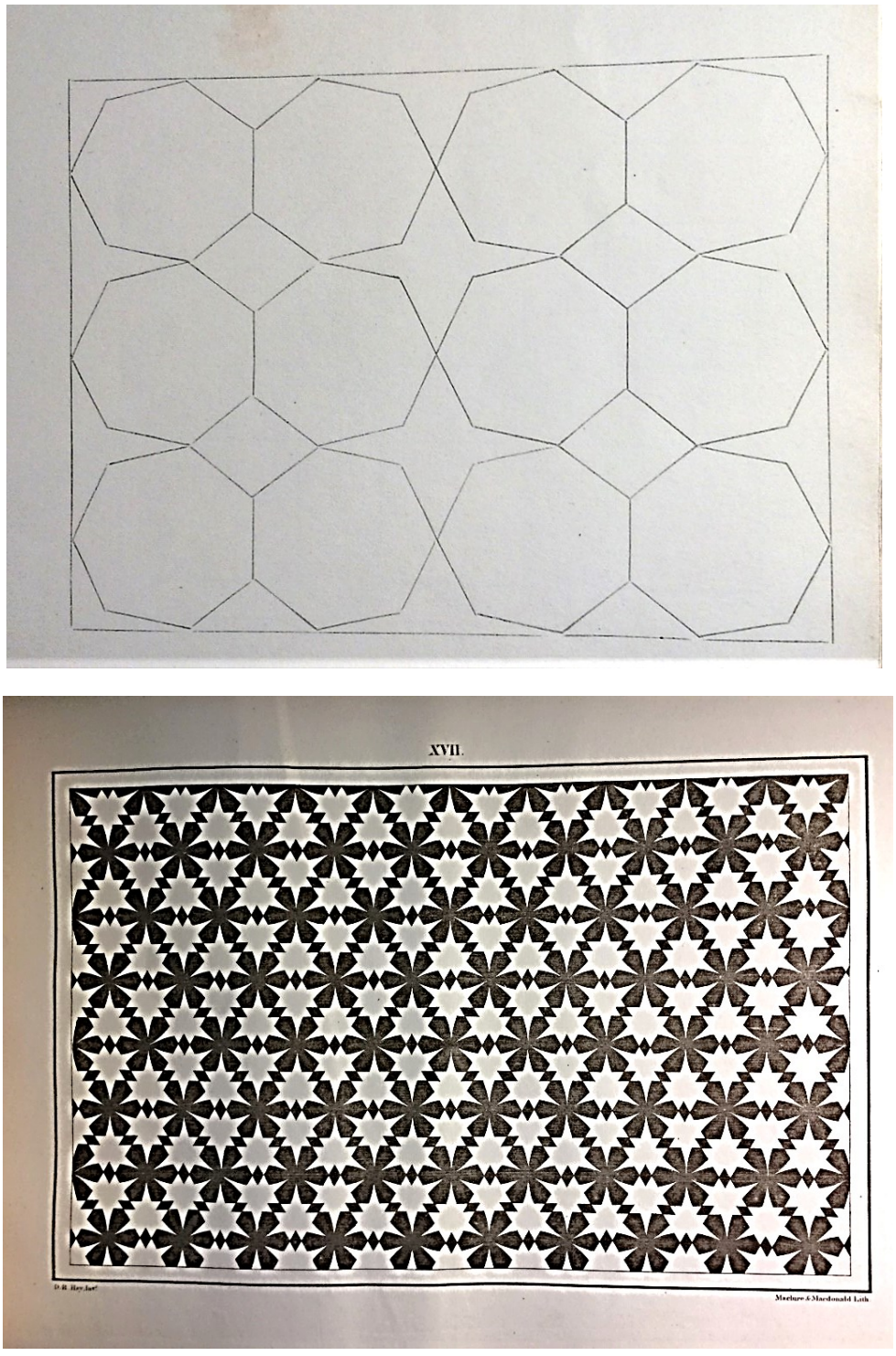
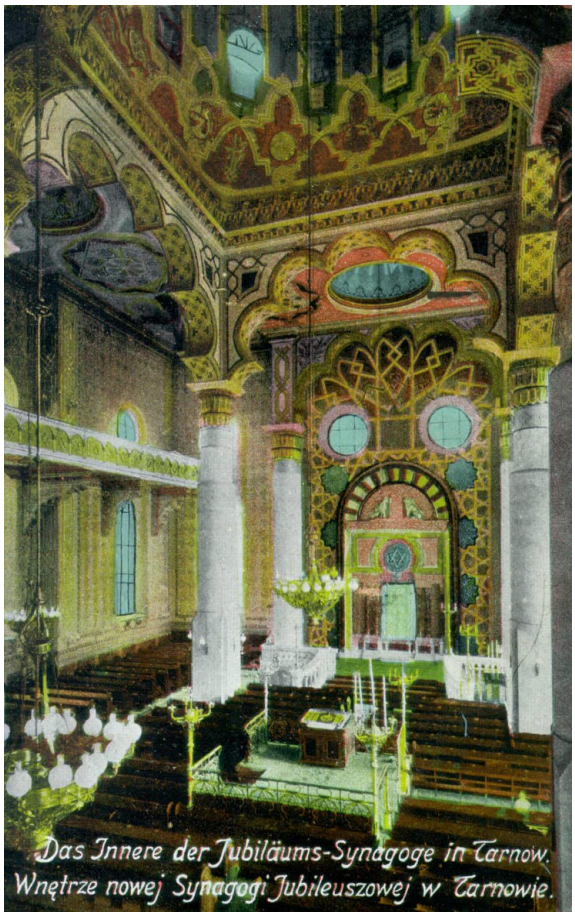
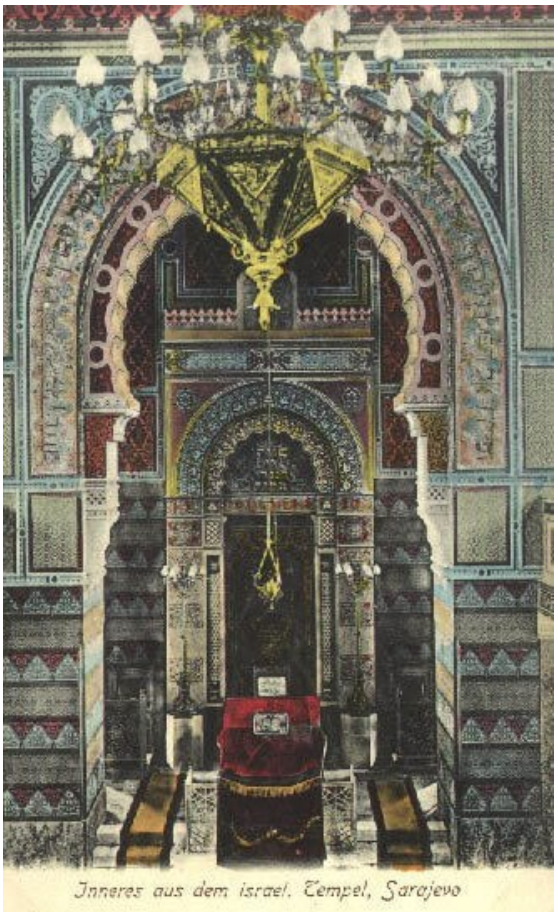


Figure 36.
David Ramsey Hay, *An Essay on Ornamental Design, Its Principles*, 1844.
British Library, London. Photo taken by Author.





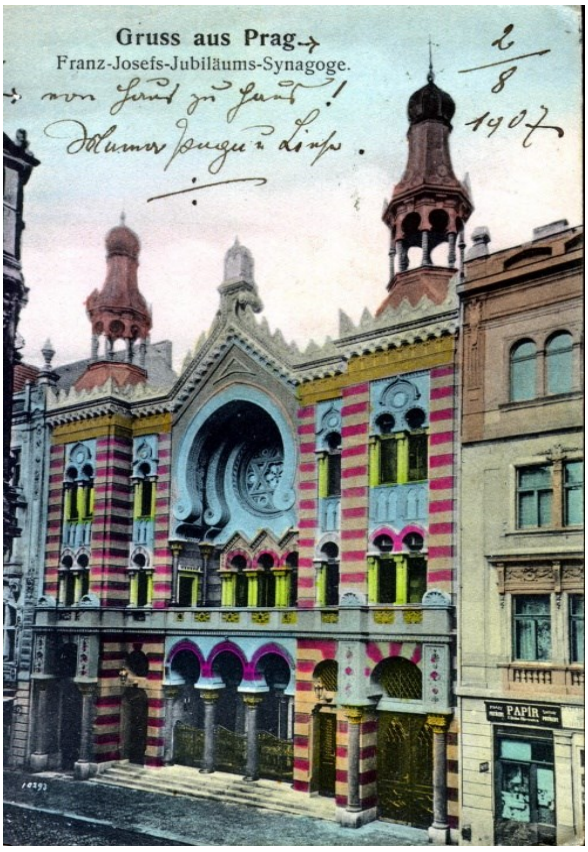


Figure 37. Tarnów Synagogue, 1865; Sarajevo Synagogue, 1901, Jerusalem (Jubilee) Synagogue, 1906.
Source: Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv, Israel.

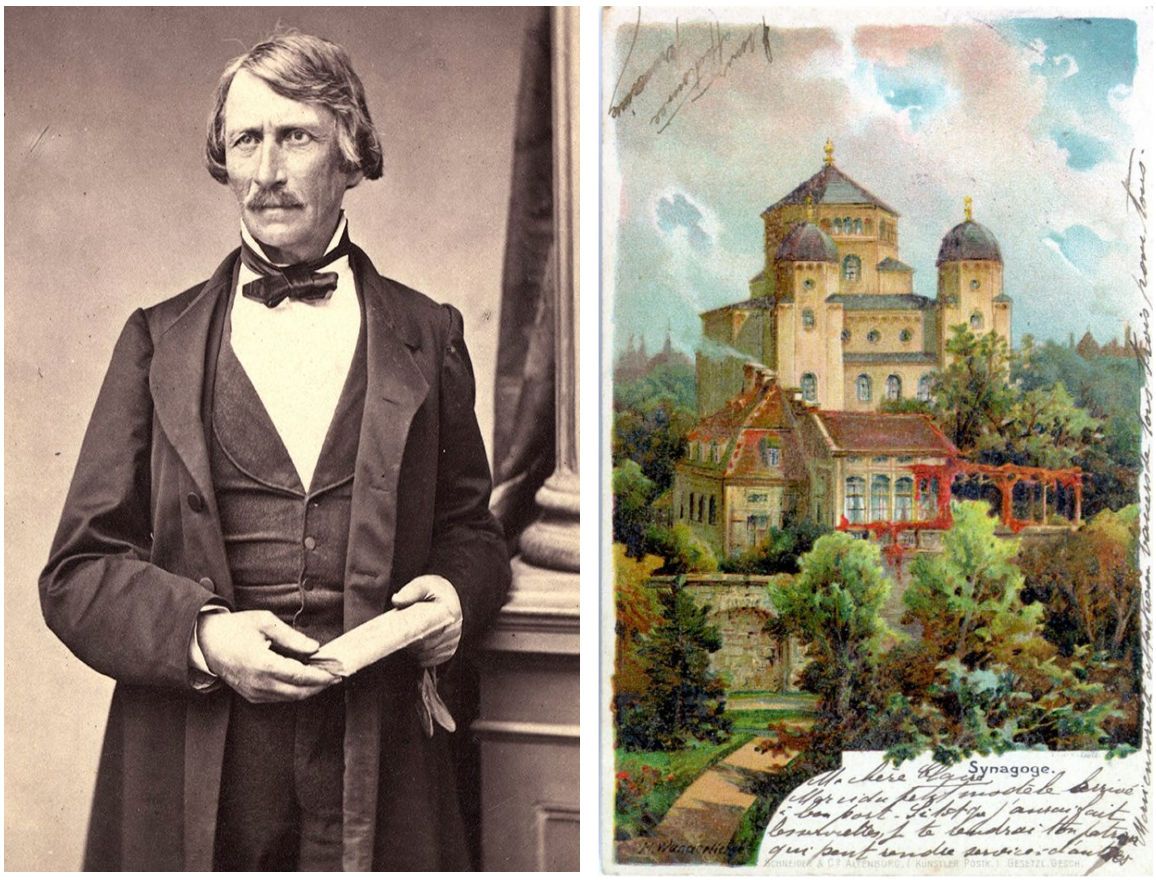


Figure 38.
Gottfried Semper, Unknown photographer, 1865.
Source : ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Bildarchiv, Fotograf : Unbekannt / Portr_11235 / Public Domain Mark.
Dresden Synagogue postcard, 1840. Source: Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv, Israel.

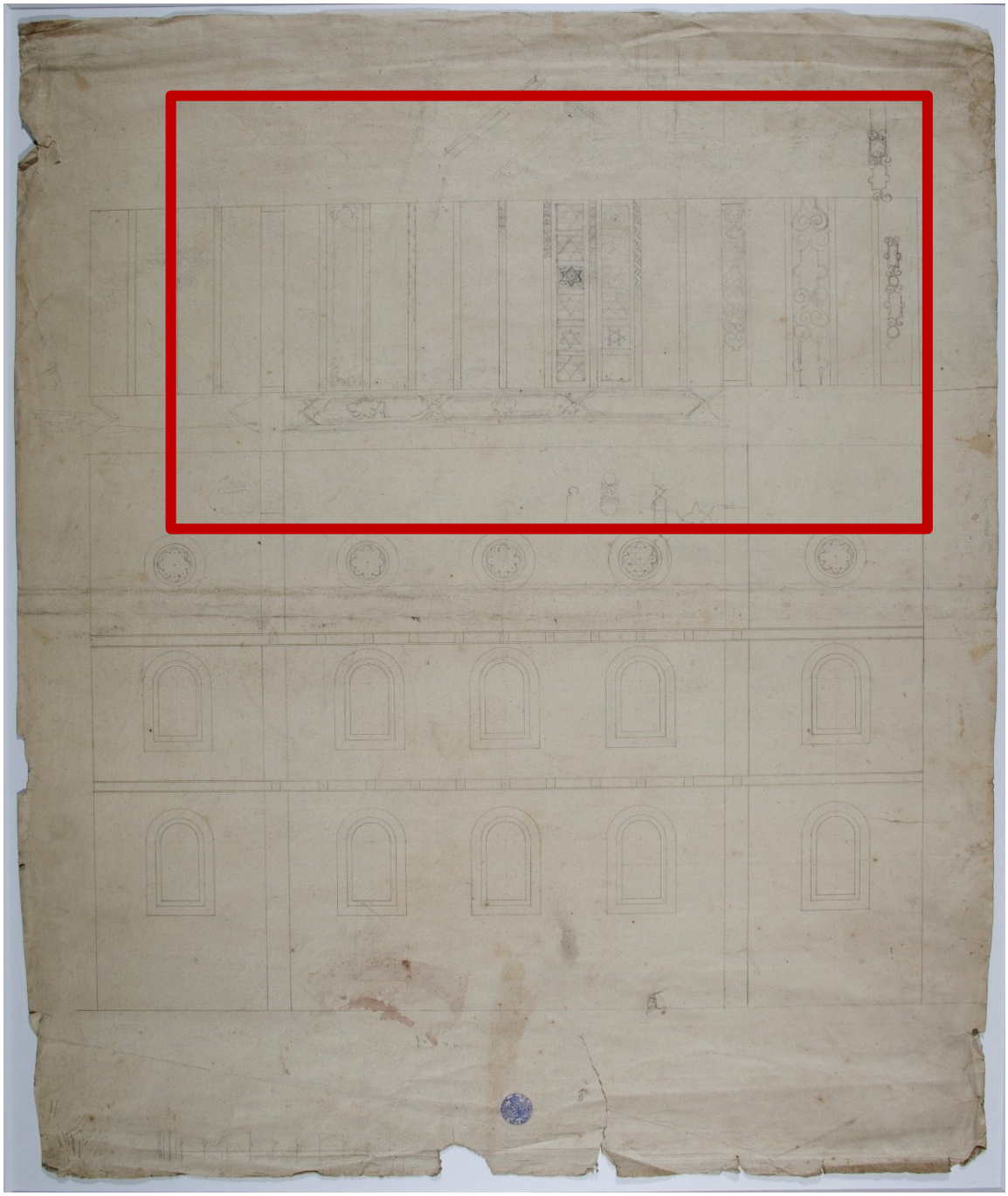


Figure 39. Gottfried Semper, Dresden Synagogue, 1838–1840.
Pencil on paper, Inventory number: MSV Conv. 18/9.

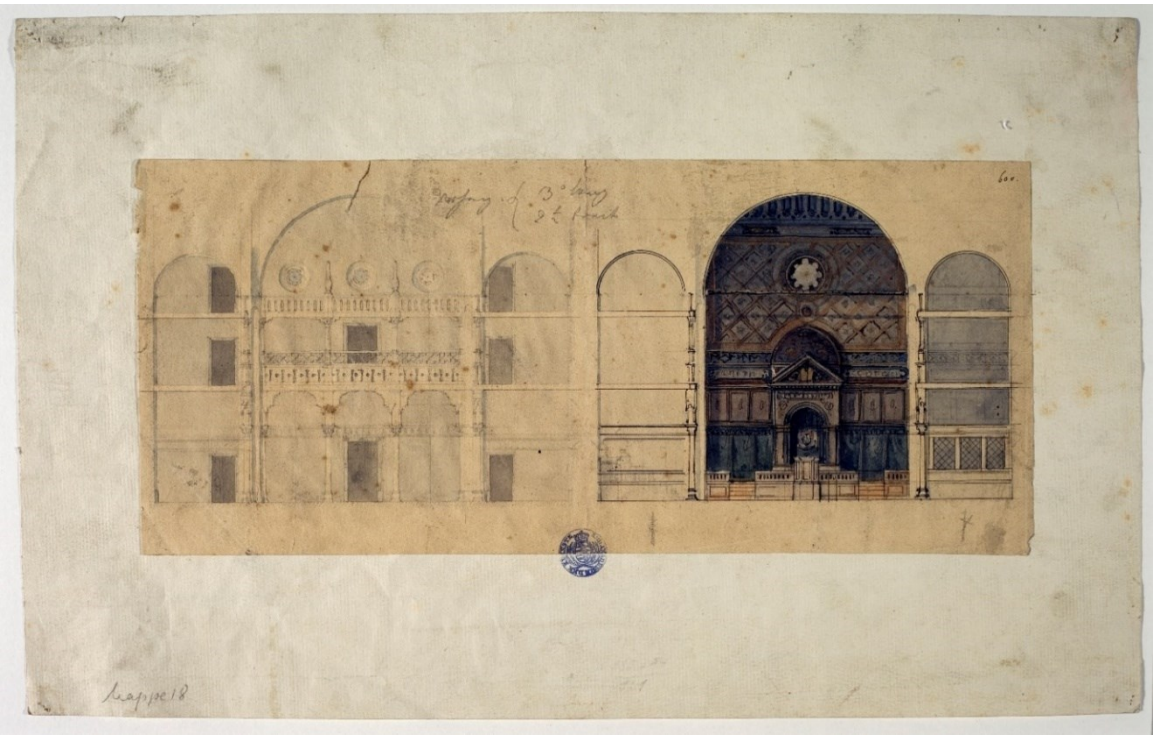


Figure 40. Gottfried Semper, Dresden Synagogue, 1838–1840. Cross-section with view to the entrance; pencil, pen in black, brush, watercolor on paper.
Inventory number: MSV Conv.18/10; MS 207.

Figure 41. Gottfried Semper, Dresden Synagogue, inner room, 1838–1840.
Source: "Die Architektur des XX. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für moderne Baukunst* (Berlin, 1901).

Figure 42. Gottfried Semper, Dresden Synagogue, 1838–1840.
Allgemeine Bauzeitung 12 (1847).

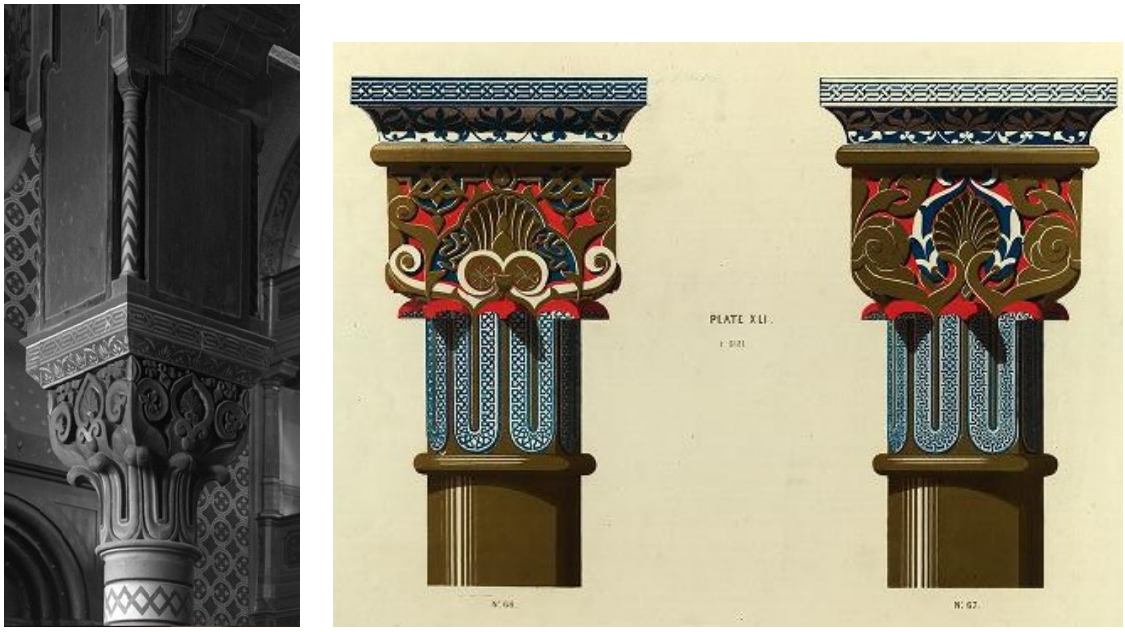


Figure 43.
Gottfried Semper, Dresden Synagogue, Detail of walls and upper galleries: 1838–1840. Source: "Die Architektur des XX. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für moderne Baukunst* (Berlin, 1901);
Owen Jones and Jules Goury, Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra, Vol. 2 (London: O. Jones, 1842). Source: Smithsonian Institute.

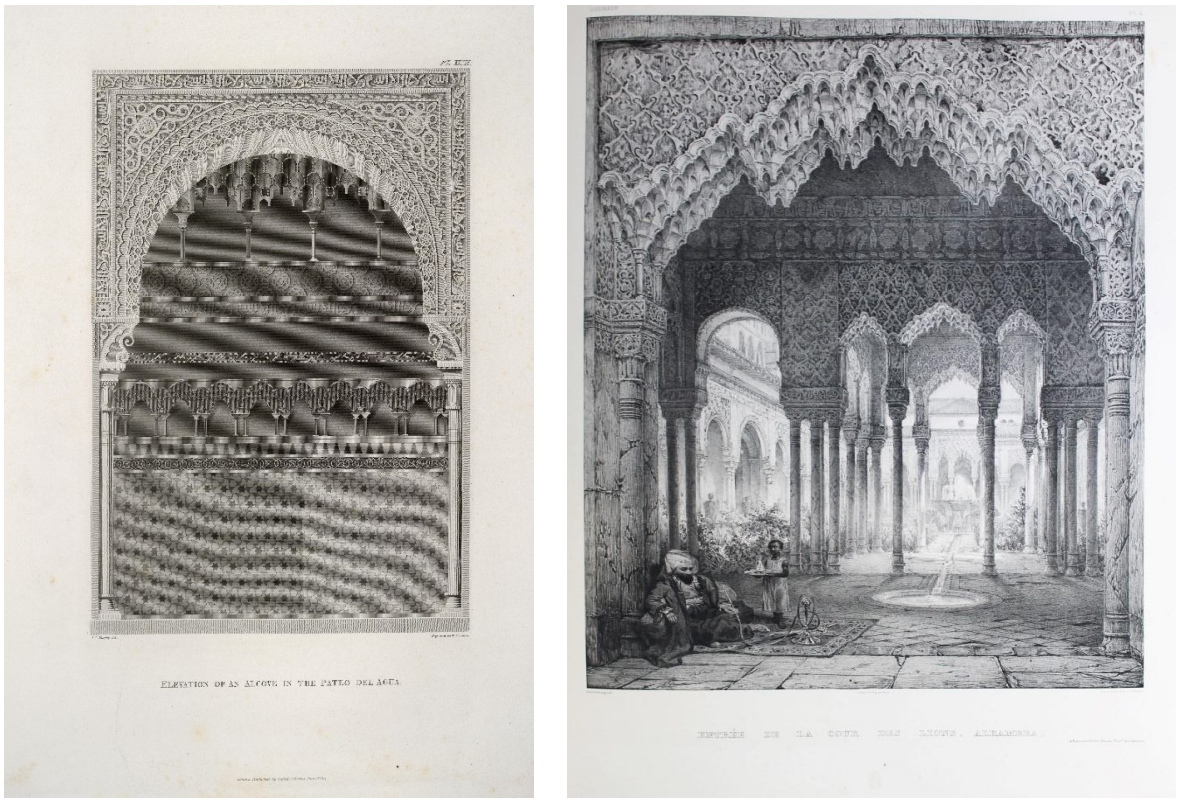


Figure 44. (L.) James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London : Cadell & Davies, 1813); (R.)Girault de Prangey, *Monuments arabes et Moresques de Cordoue: Séville et Grenade, 1832–1833* (Paris: Veith et Hauser, 1836–1839).

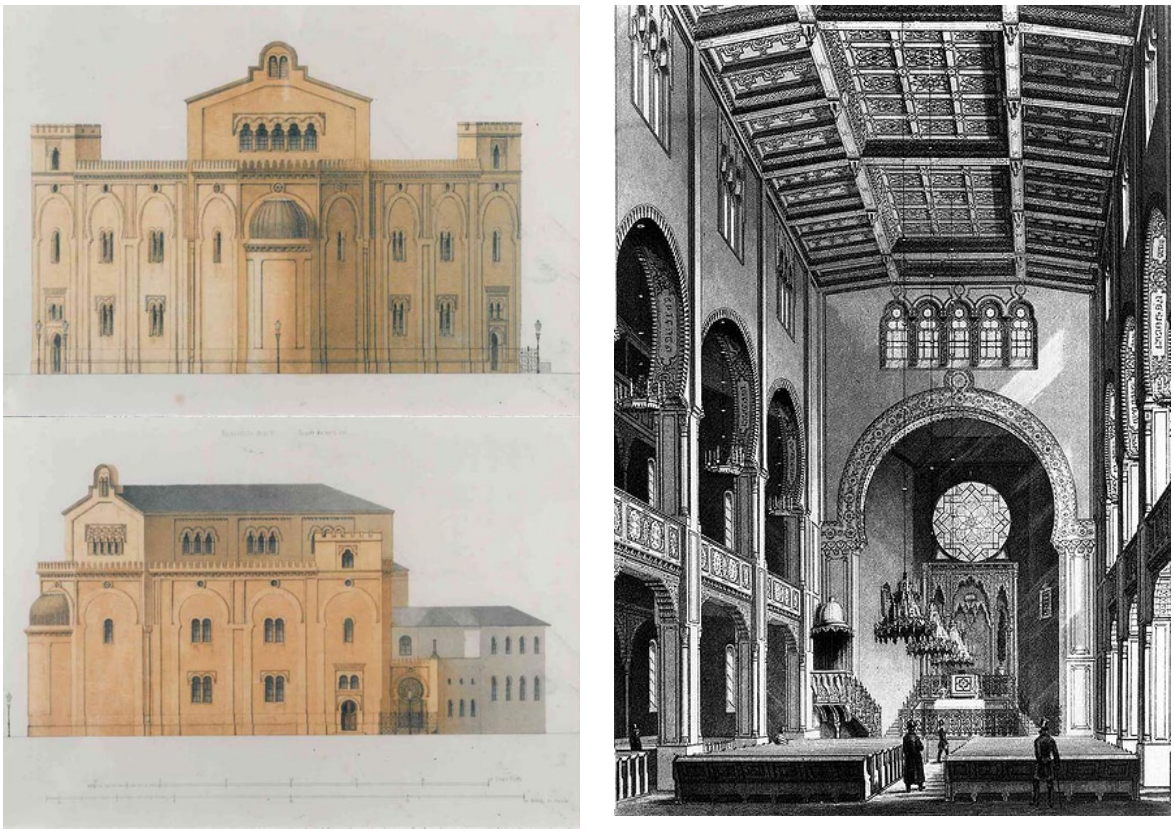
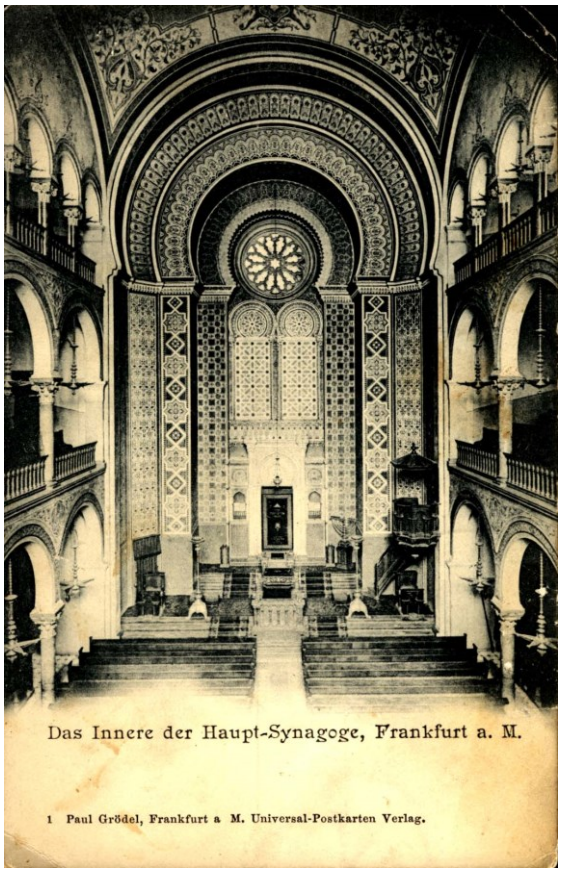


Figure 45.
Left: Otto Simonson, architect, The New Temple in Leipzig, 1855
Source: Provisorischen Statuten der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig von 1847.

Right: Engraving by Alfred Kraußе; Leipzig Synagogue, 1855.
Source: *Zeugnisse jüdischer Kultur: Erinnerungsstätten in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Brandenburg, Berlin, Sachsen-Anhalt, Sachsen und Thüringen* (Berlin: Tourist Verlag, 1992).



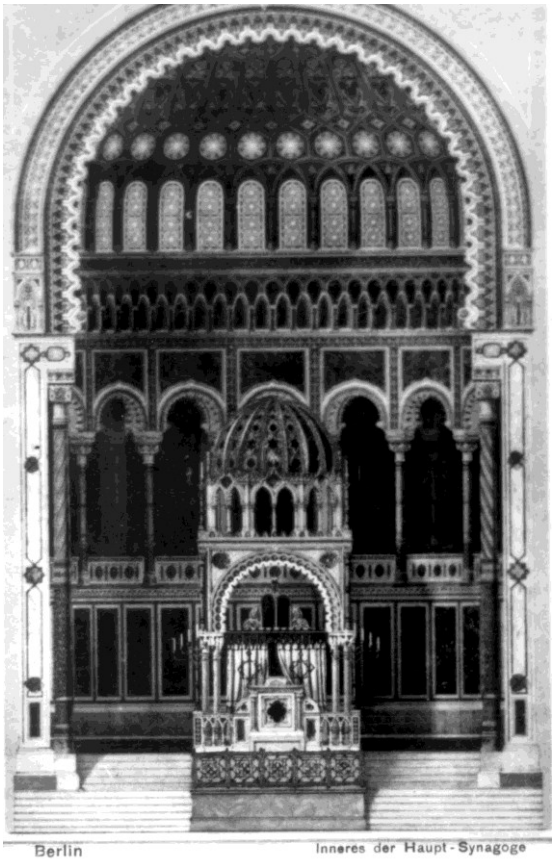


Figure 46. Johann Georg Kayser, architect, Haupt Synagogue Frankfurt, 1855–1860. Item number: 24263. Archival Signature 4620/2517, Yad Vashem Archives, Israel; Eduard Knoblauch and Friedrich August Stüler, architects, Neue Synagoge, 1859–1866. Item number: 23320. Archival Signature 4620/2426, Yad Vashem Archives, Israel.

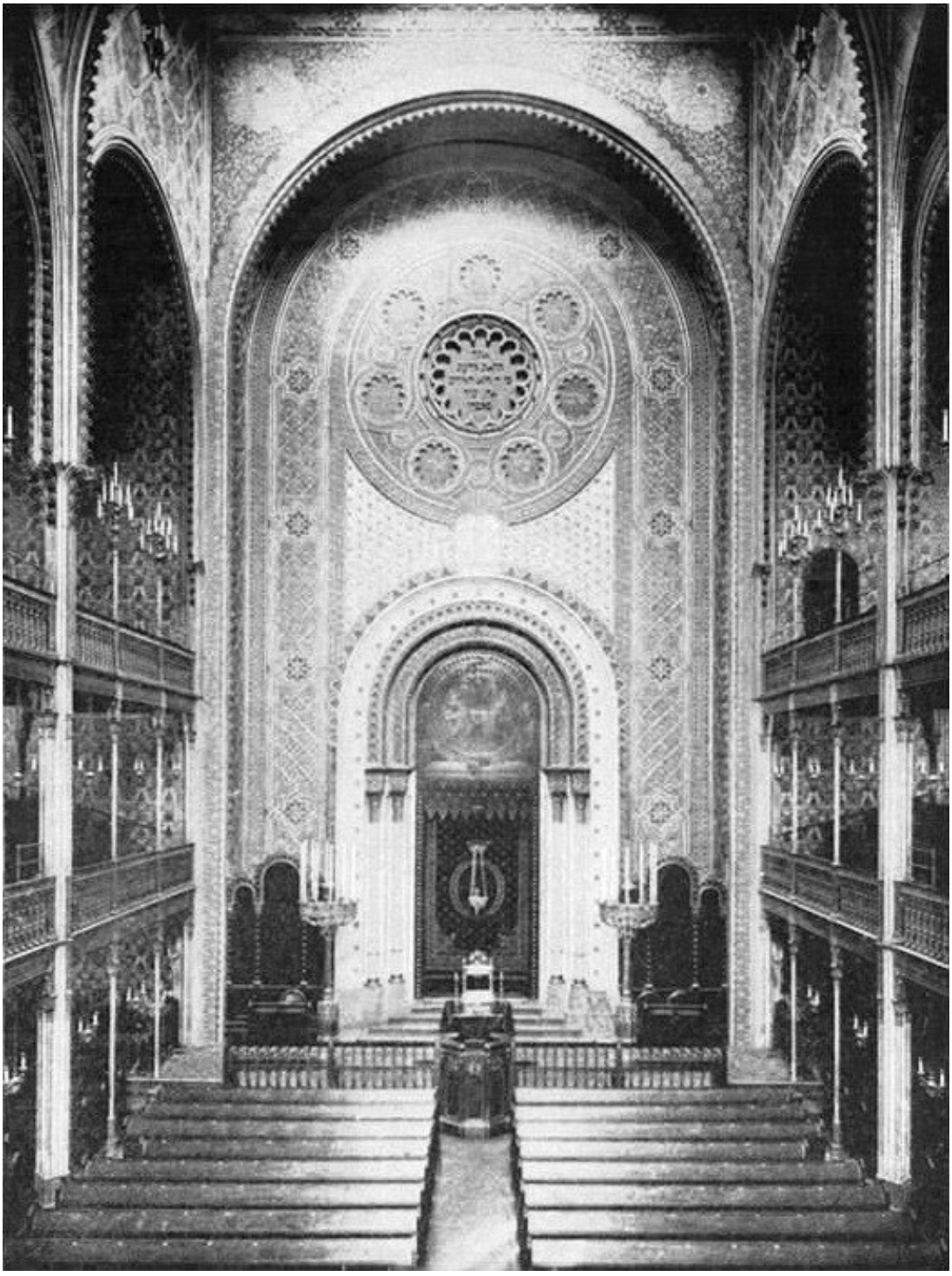


Figure 47. Ludwig Förster, architect.
Leopoldstädter Temple, main sanctuary, 1905.
Source: *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1906).

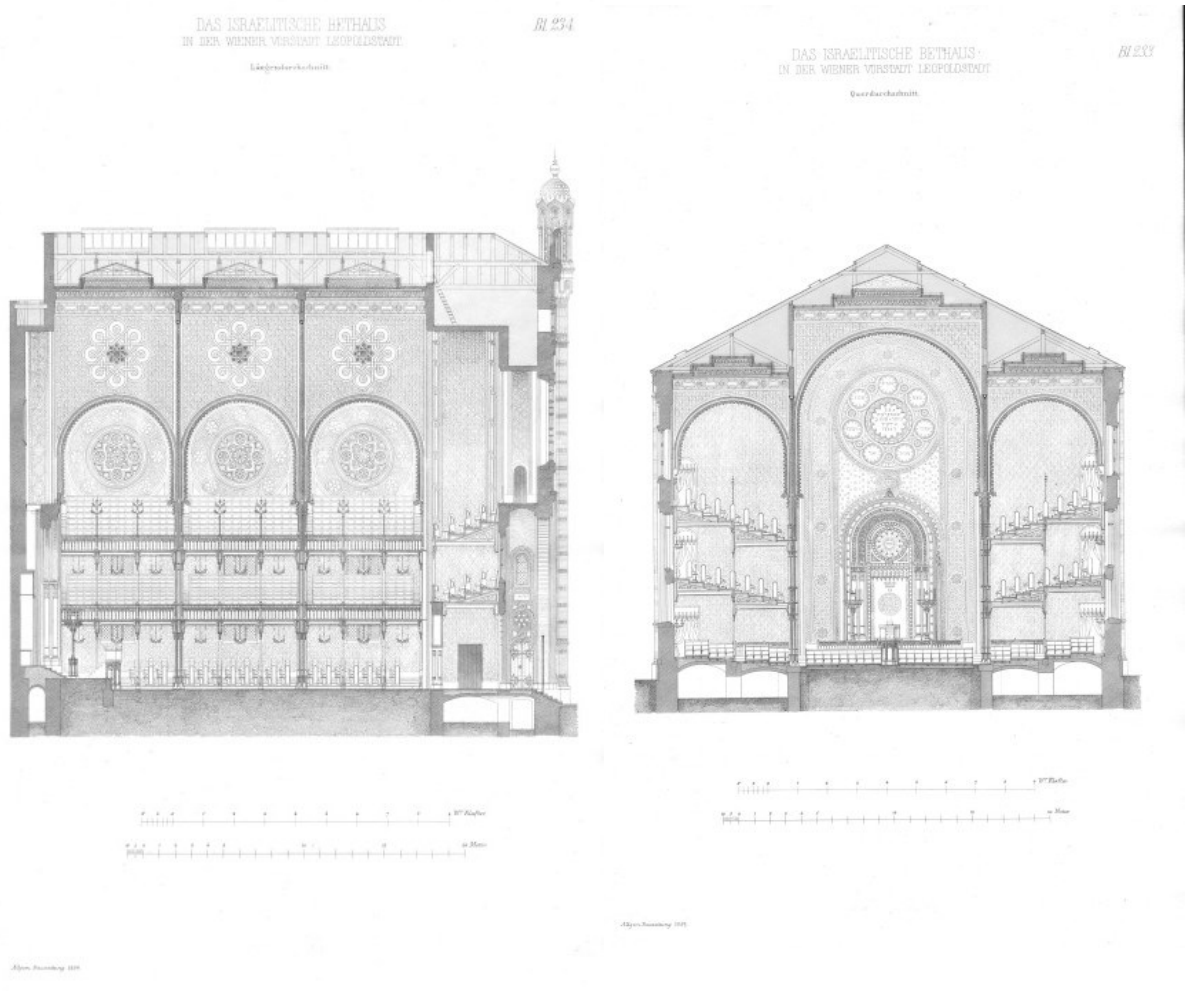


Figure 48. Ludwig Förster, architect, Leopoldstädter Temple.
Source: *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, 1859.

Figure 49. Emil Ranzenhofer, Aquarelle.
Leopoldstädter Temple, inner room, 1901.
Source: *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1906).

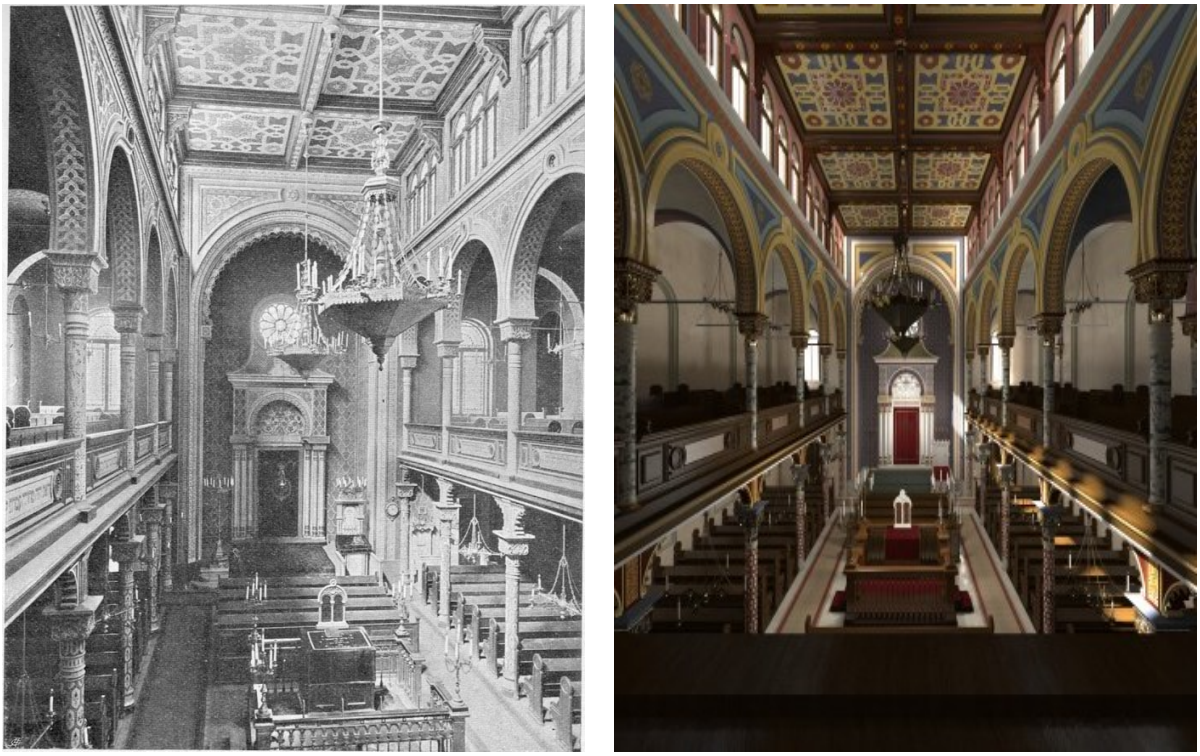
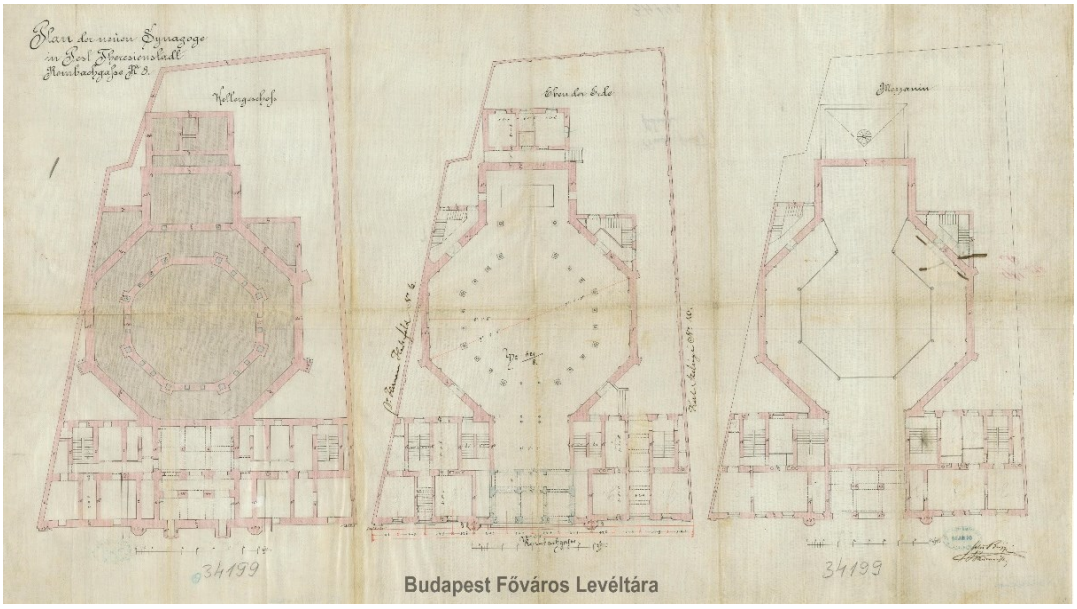


Figure 50. Wilhelm Stiassny, architect.
Polish Synagogue, 1892–1893, model reconstruction, Bob Martens & Herbert Peter (2003).
Sources: *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1906); and Bob Martens and Herbert Peter,
The Destroyed Synagogues of Vienna (Berlin: Lit, 2009).



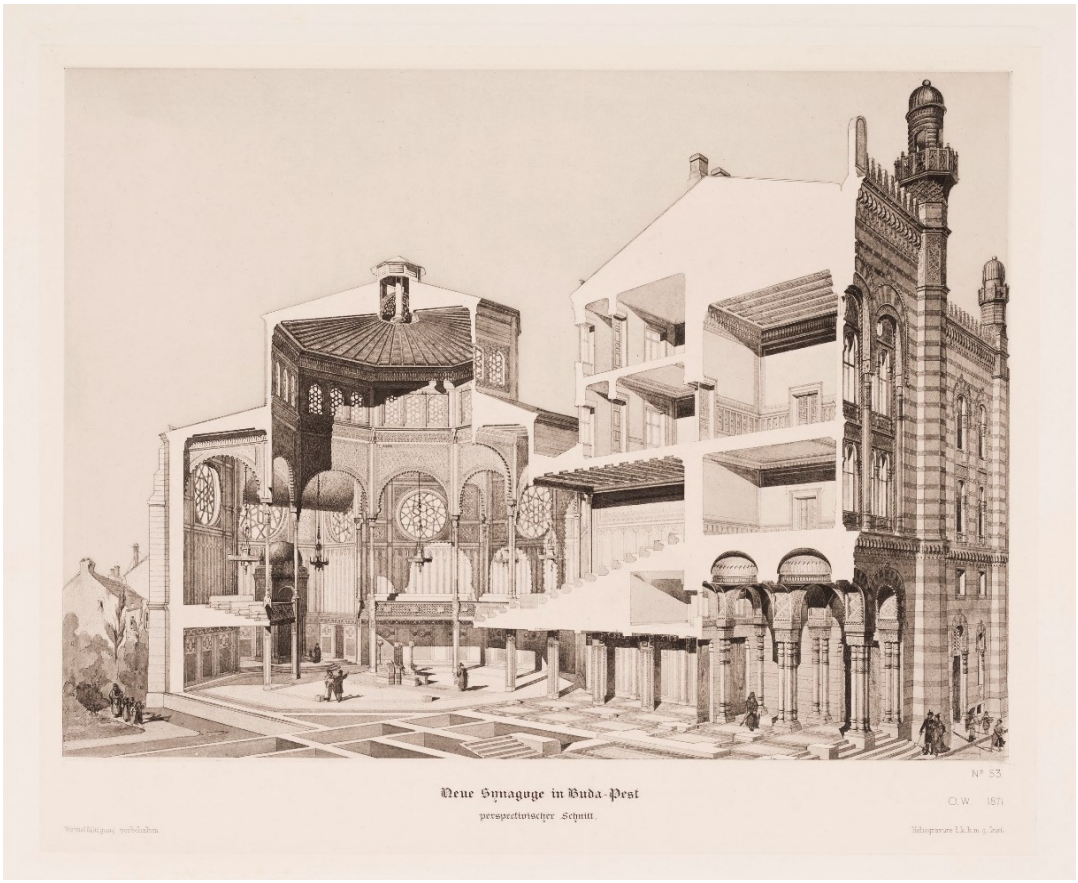


Figure 51. *Above:* Otto Wagner, architect, Rumbach Synagogue, floor plan, 1872, Budapest City Archives, Hungary;
Below: Rumbach Synagogue, perspective drawing, 1889, Wien Museum, Austria.

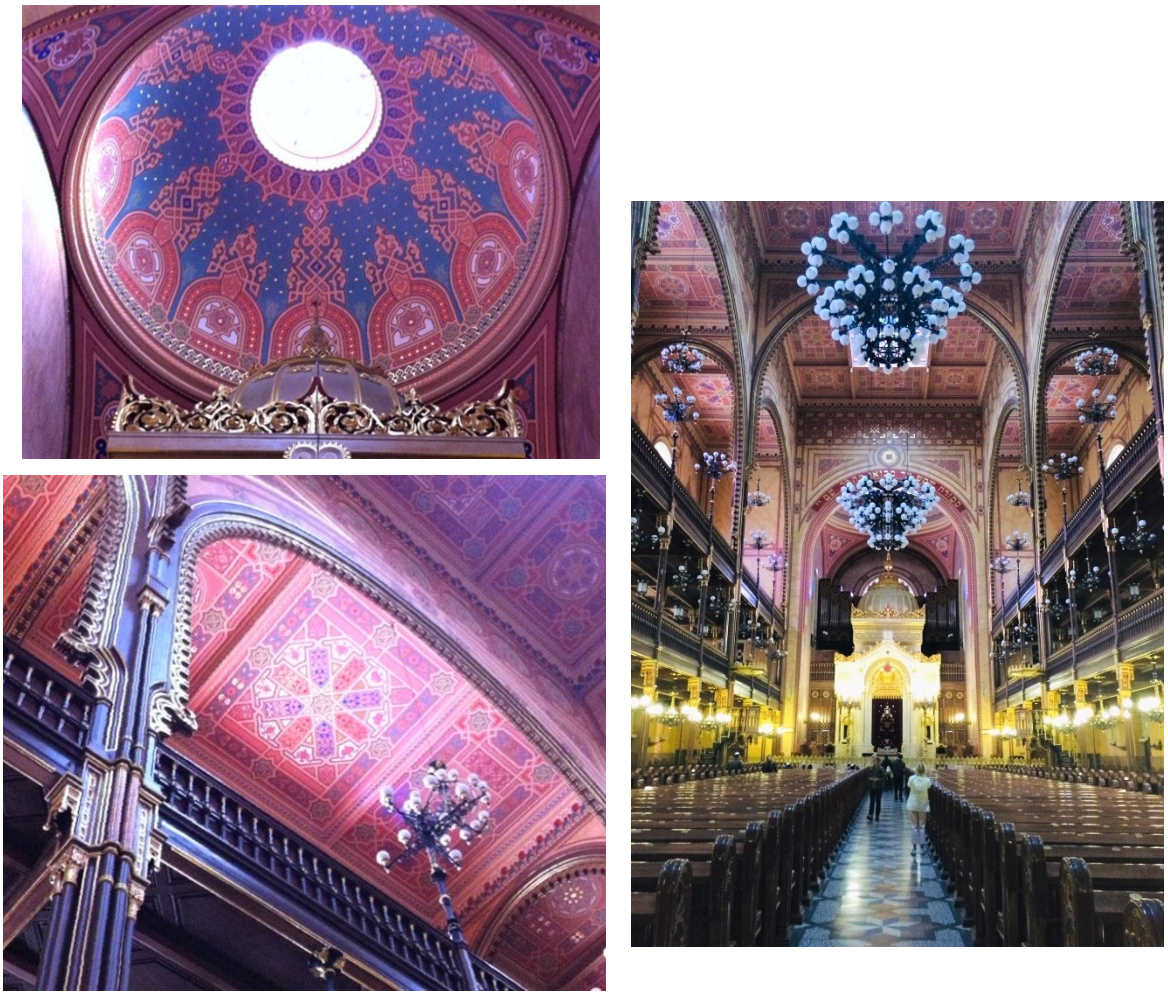


Figure 52. Ludwig Förster, architect.
Main sanctuary, Dohány Street Synagogue, 1854, Budapest.
Photos taken by the author.

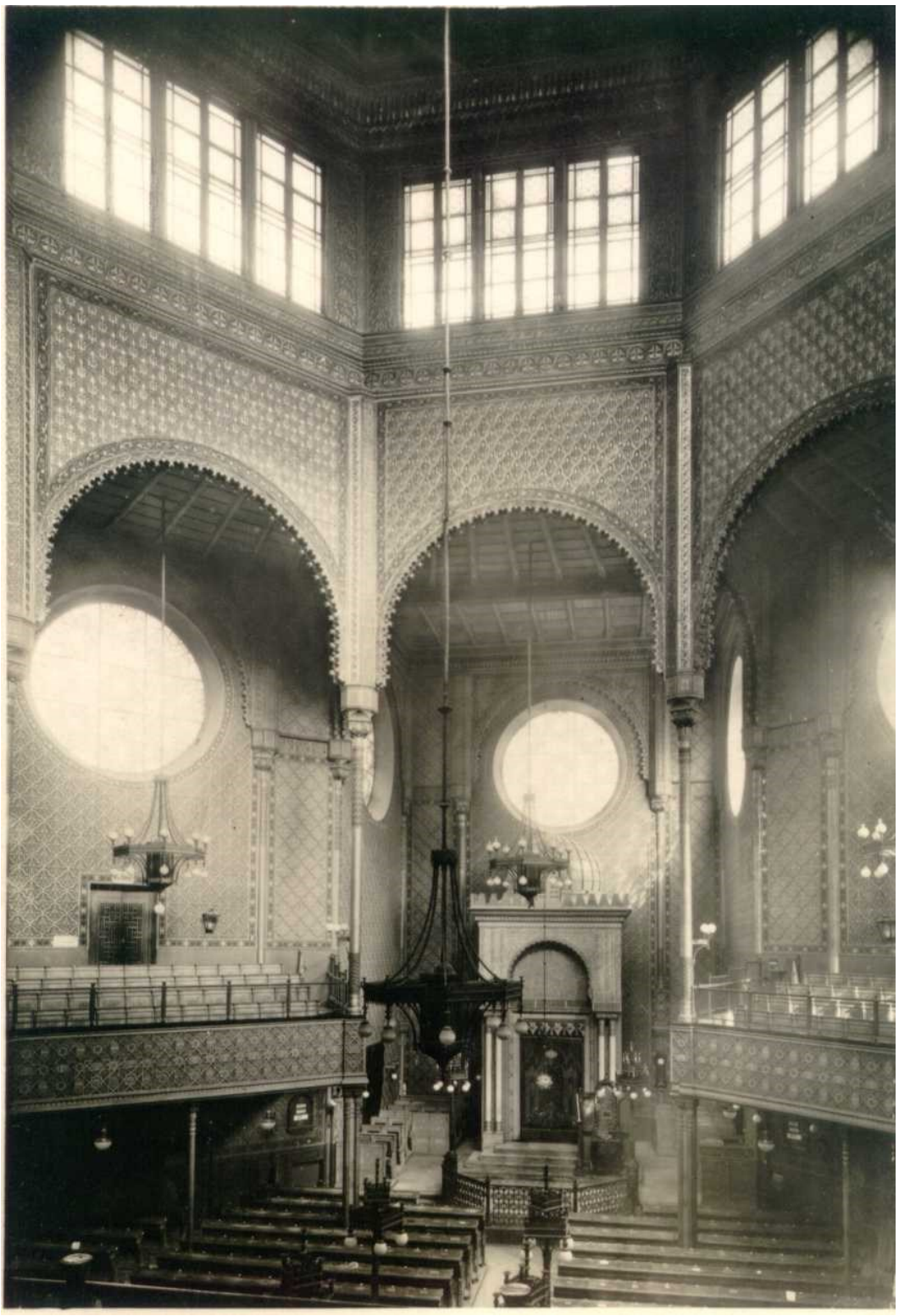
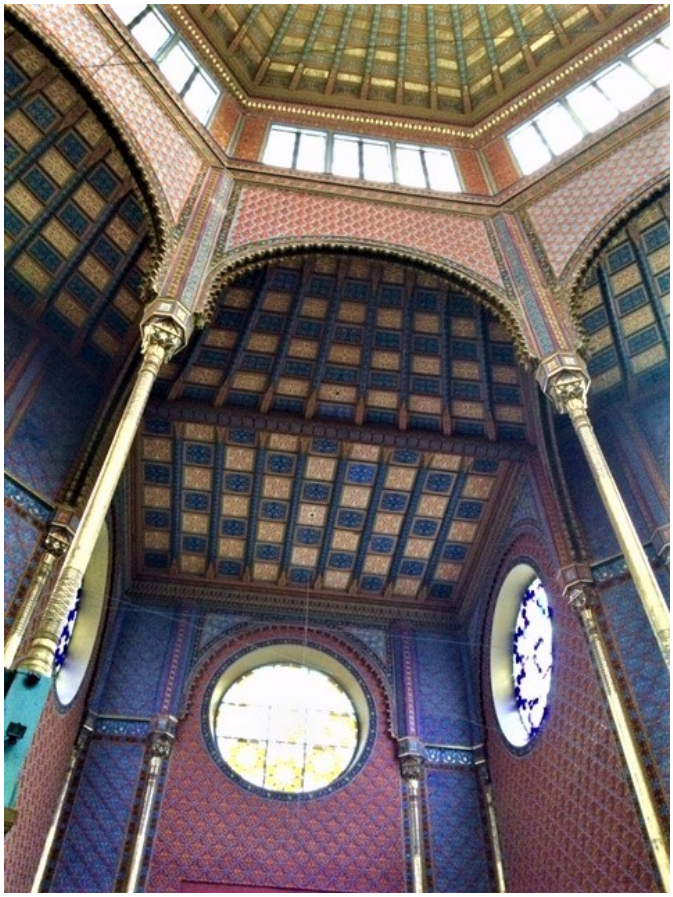


Figure 53. Otto Wagner, architect.
Rumbach Synagogue, 1872, Budapest.
Archives of the Jewish Museum, Vienna.



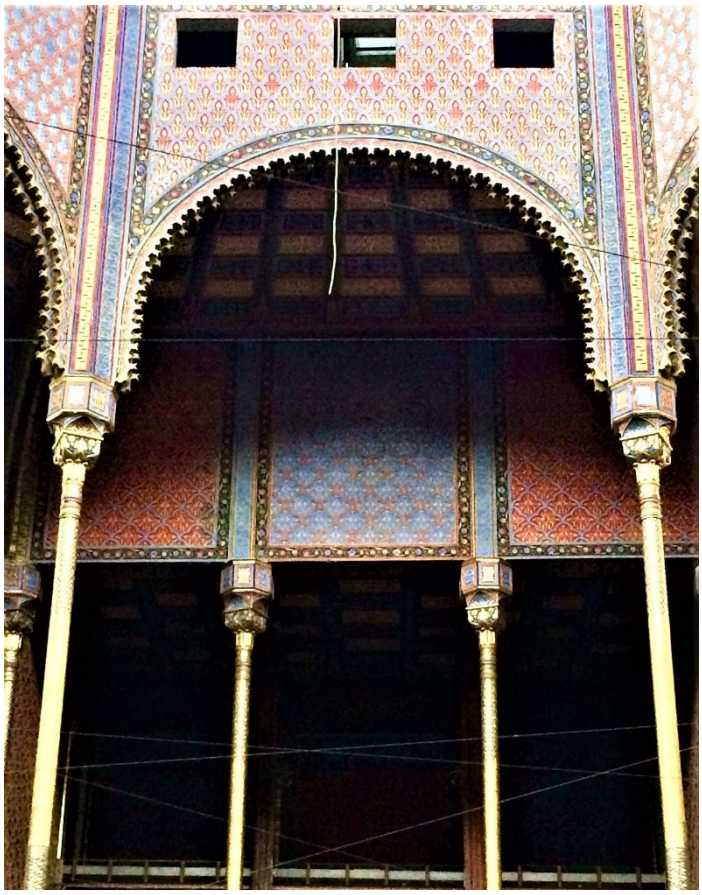


Figure 54. Otto Wagner, architect. Ceiling and inner walls, main sanctuary, Rumbach Synagogue, 1872, Budapest. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 55. Left wall, Otto Wagner, architect.
Rumbach Synagogue, Budapest.
Photo taken by the author.

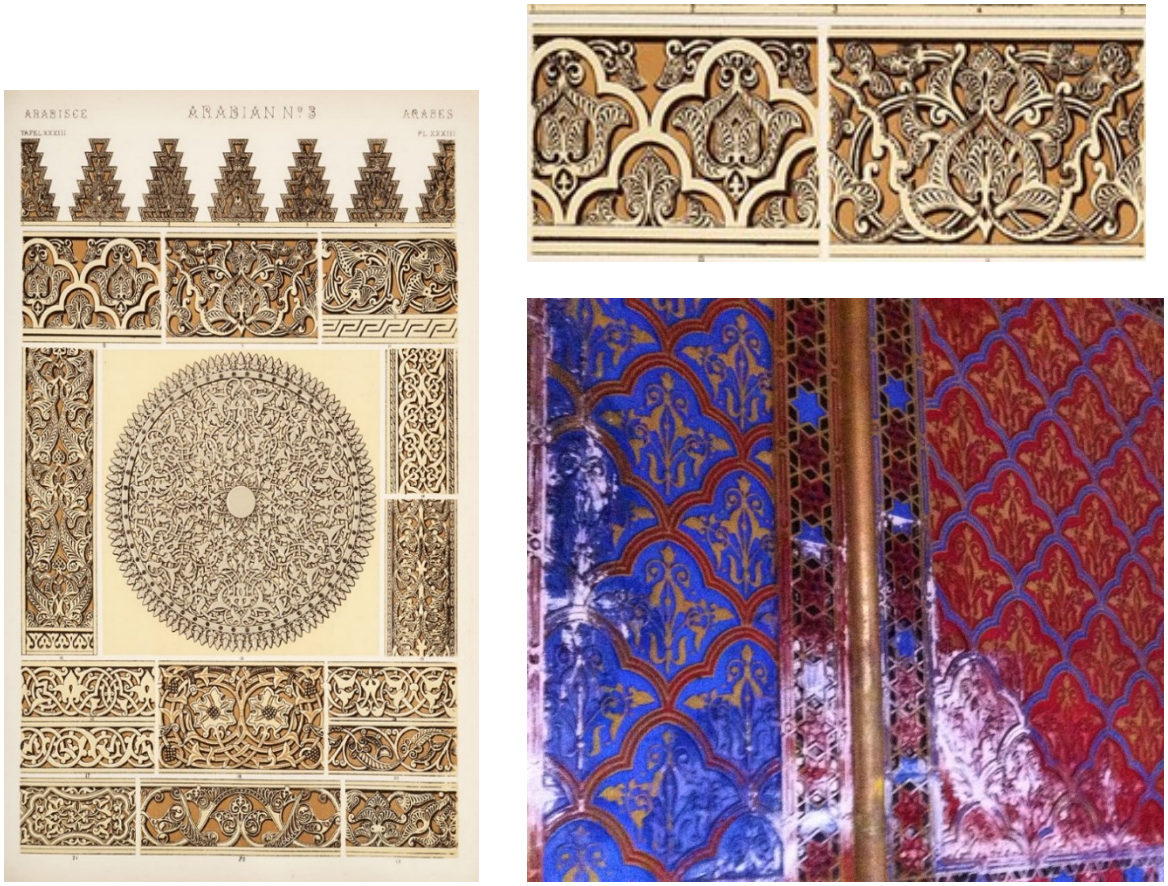


Figure 56. Owen Jones, "Arabian no. 3," *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art and Architecture Collection, New York Public Library, NY.
Otto Wagner, Rumbach Synagogue, Budapest. Photo taken by the author.

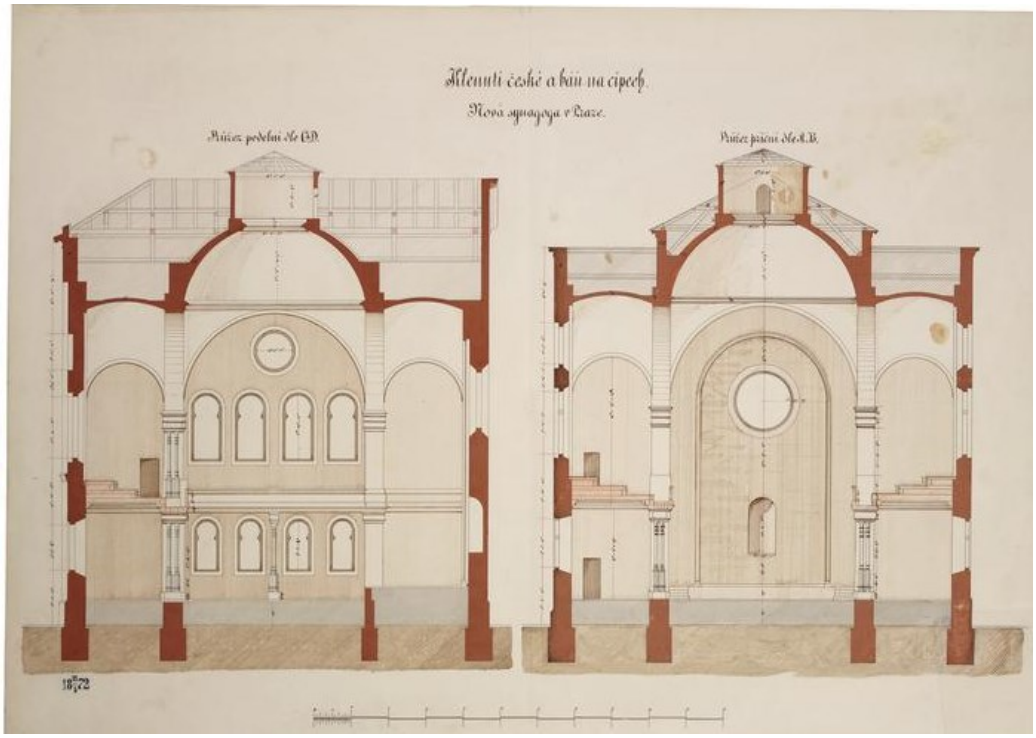


Figure 57.
Above: Spanish Synagogue, Prague. Object.JMP.Coll/177173, 1872, Jewish Museum, Prague.
Below: František Chalupa, *Synagogue in Dušní Street* (Spanish Synagogue) Object.JMP.Coll/176946, Jewish Museum, Prague.

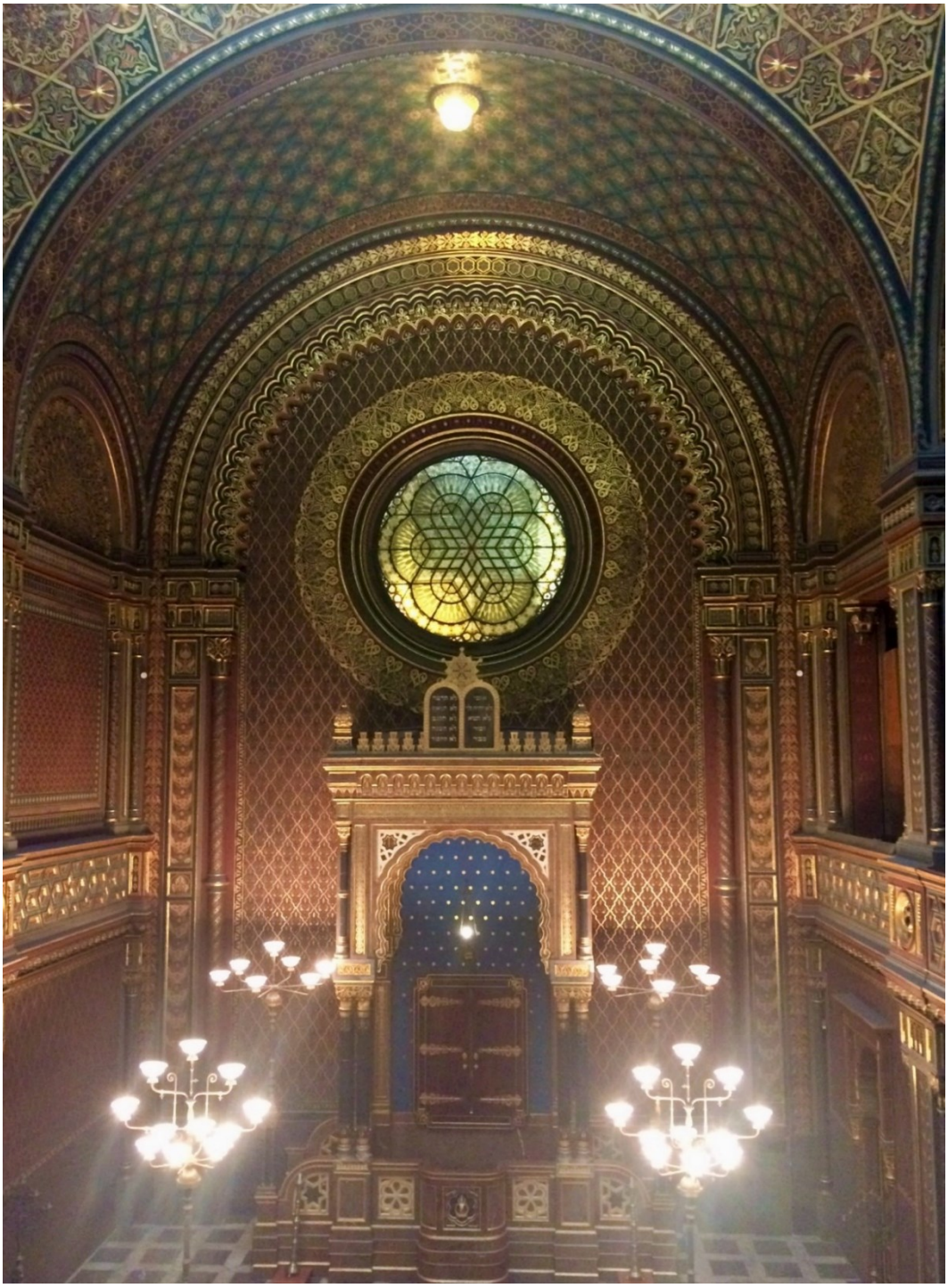


Figure 58. Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann, architect, interior designed by Josef Niklas.
Spanish Synagogue, Prague, 1868.
Photo taken by the author.

Figure 59. Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann, architect, interior designed by Josef Niklas.
Spanish Synagogue, Prague, 1868.
Photo taken by the author.

Figure 60. Vojtěch Ignác Ullman, architect, interior designed by Josef Niklas.
Lower level ceiling, Spanish Synagogue, Prague, 1868.
Photo taken by the author.

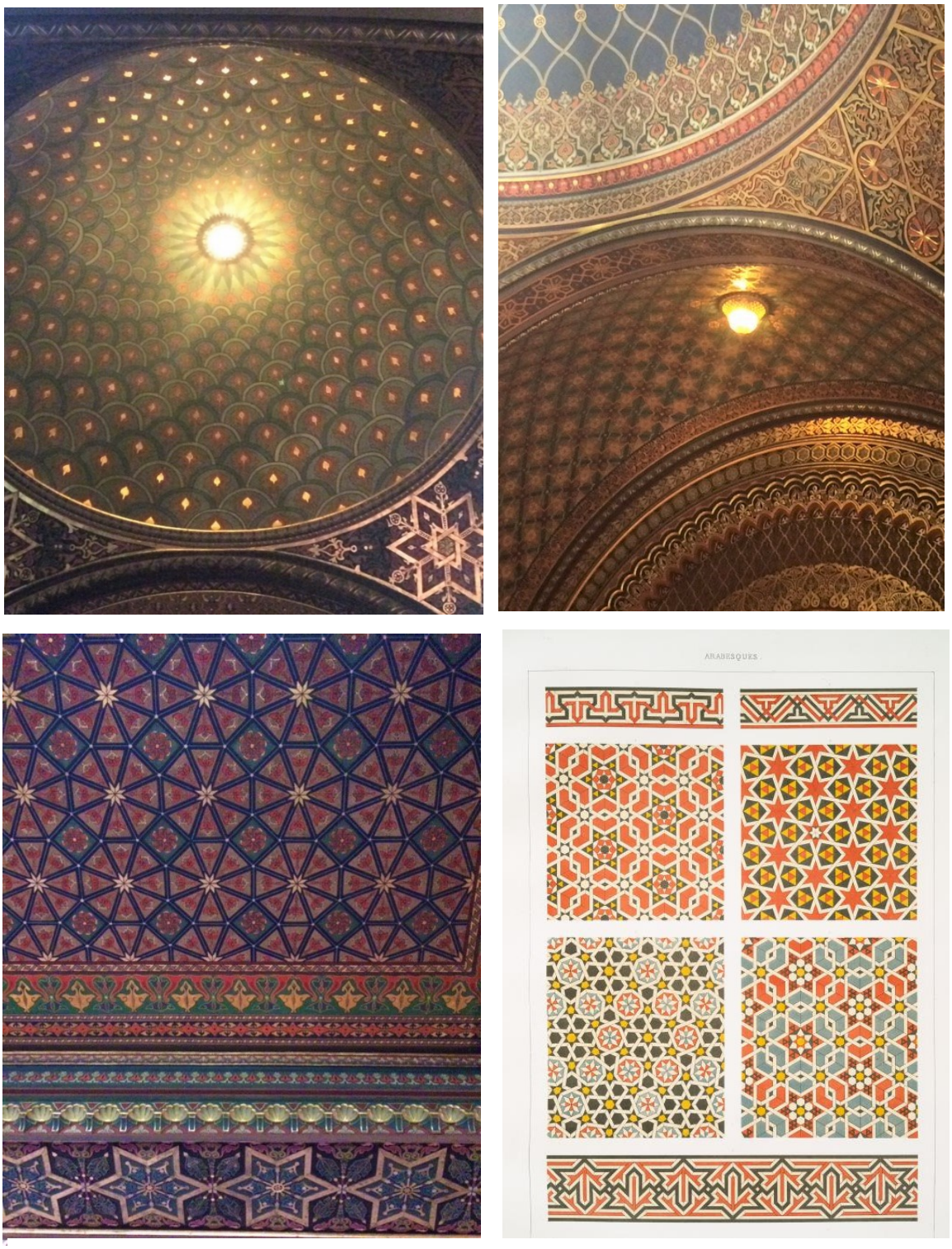


Figure 61. Vojtěch Ignác Ullmann, architect, interior designed by Josef Niklas. Lower-level ceiling, dome. and arches, Spanish Synagogue, Prague, 1868. Photos taken by the author;
Émile Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire*, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library Digital Collections.

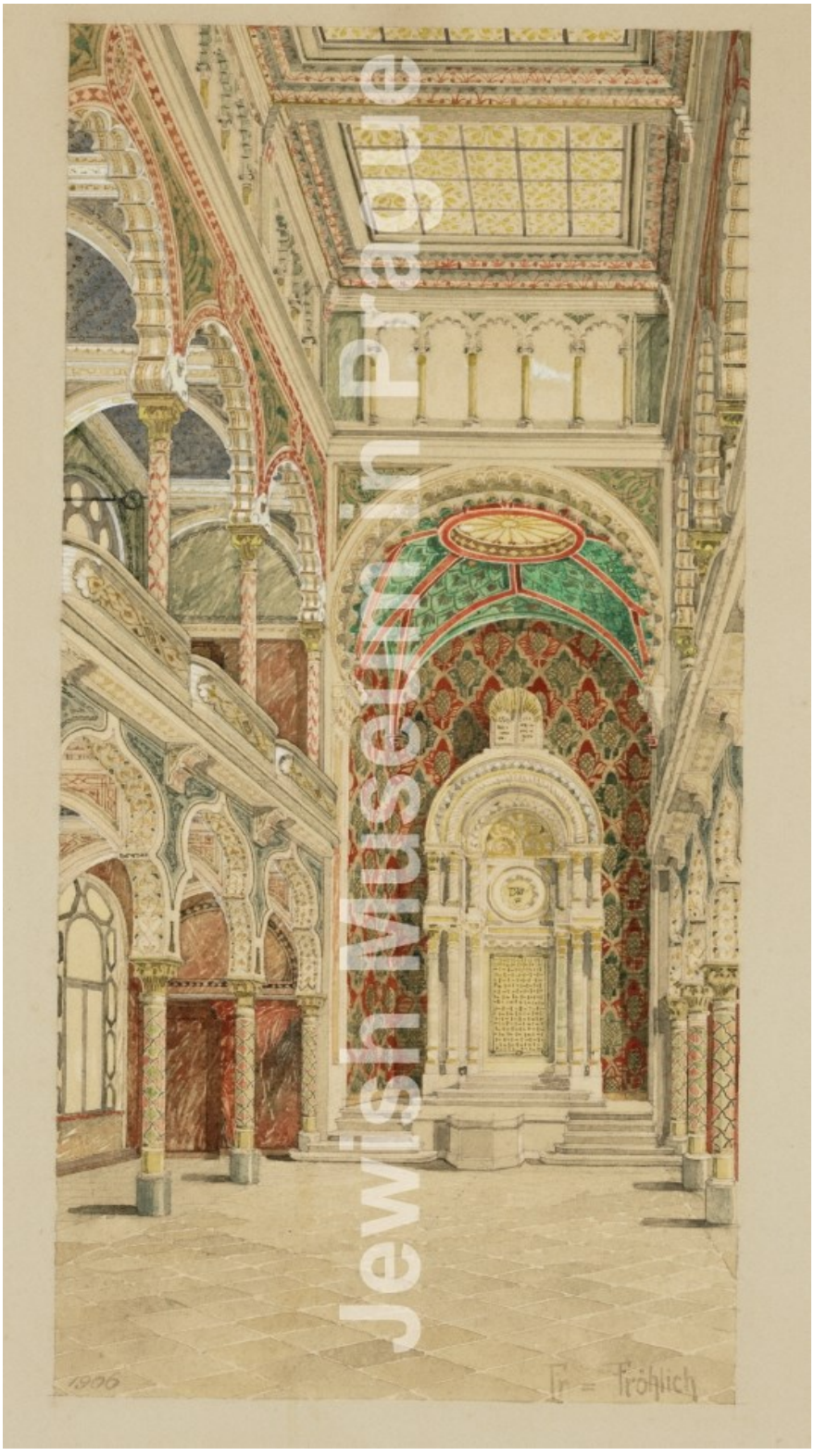


Figure 62. František Fröhlich, Jerusalem Synagogue, Prague, 1906. Source: Jewish Museum, Prague.

Figure 63. Wilhelm Stiassny, architect, František Fröhlich, painter.
Jerusalem or "Jubilee" Synagogue, 1906.
Photo taken by the author.

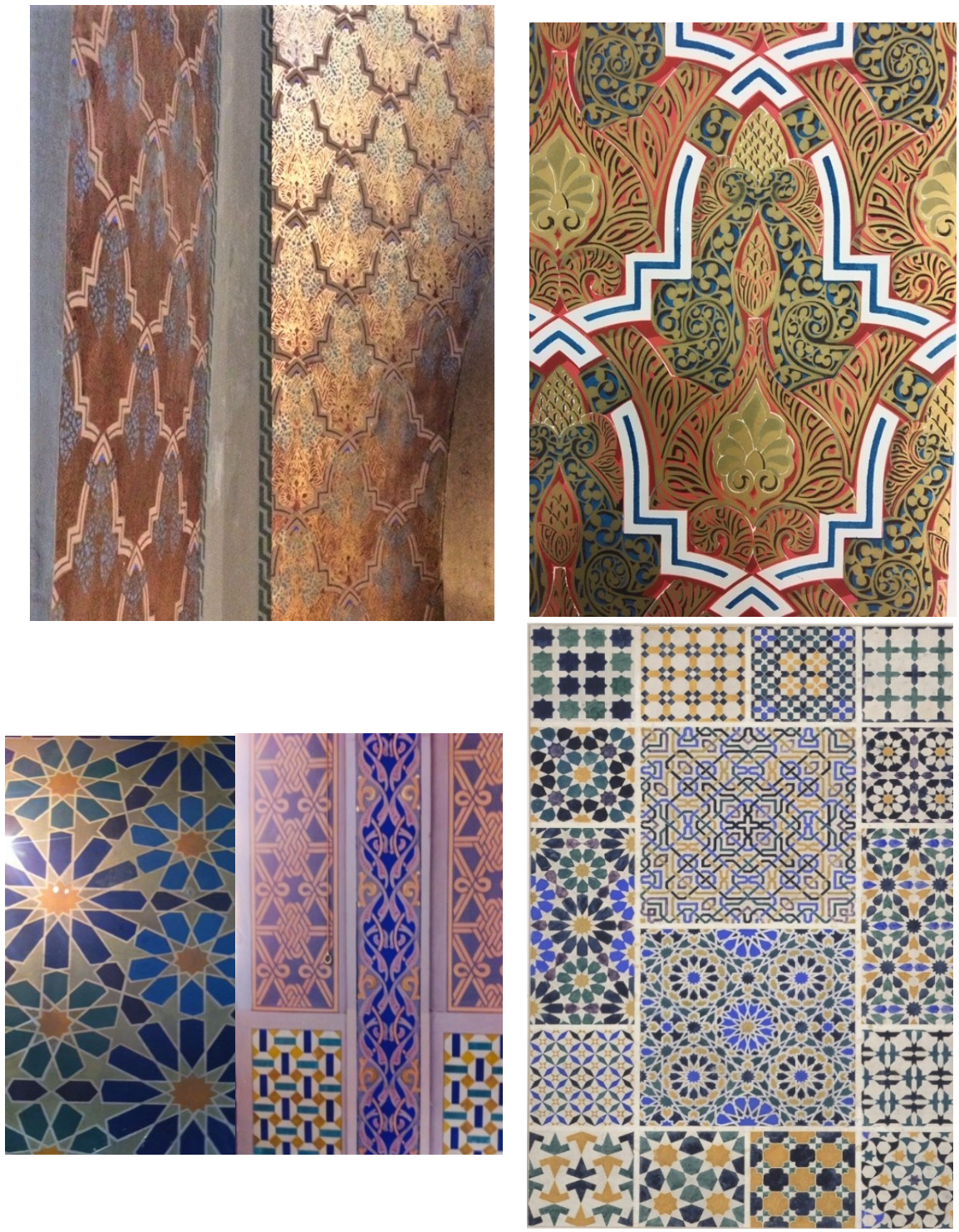


Figure 64. *Top row:* Upper gallery wall design above the ark (photo by author) and a detail of the Alhambra from Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra from Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 and 1837*.
Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Bottom row: Wall Main Sanctuary (photo by author), Jerusalem Synagogue and a detail of Moresque No. 5. Plate XLIII, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856, Museum number: 1616. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

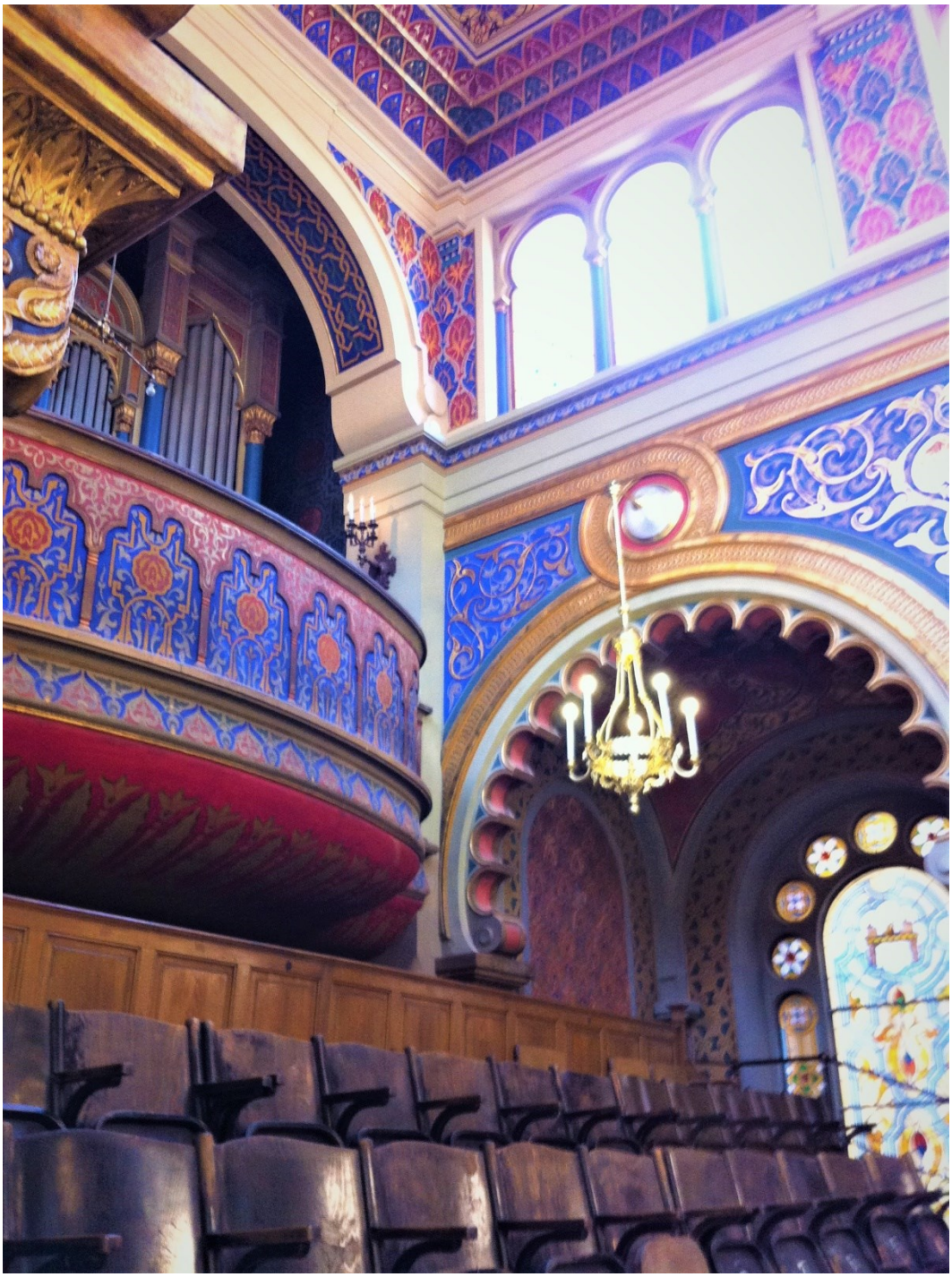


Figure 65. Women's upper gallery and organ.
Wilhelm Stiassny, architect, František Fröhlich, painter.
Jerusalem or "Jubilee" Synagogue, 1906.
Photo taken by the author.

Figure 66. Ceiling design.
Wilhelm Stiassny, architect, and
František Fröhlich, painter.
Jerusalem or "Jubilee"
Synagogue, 1906.
Photo taken by the author.

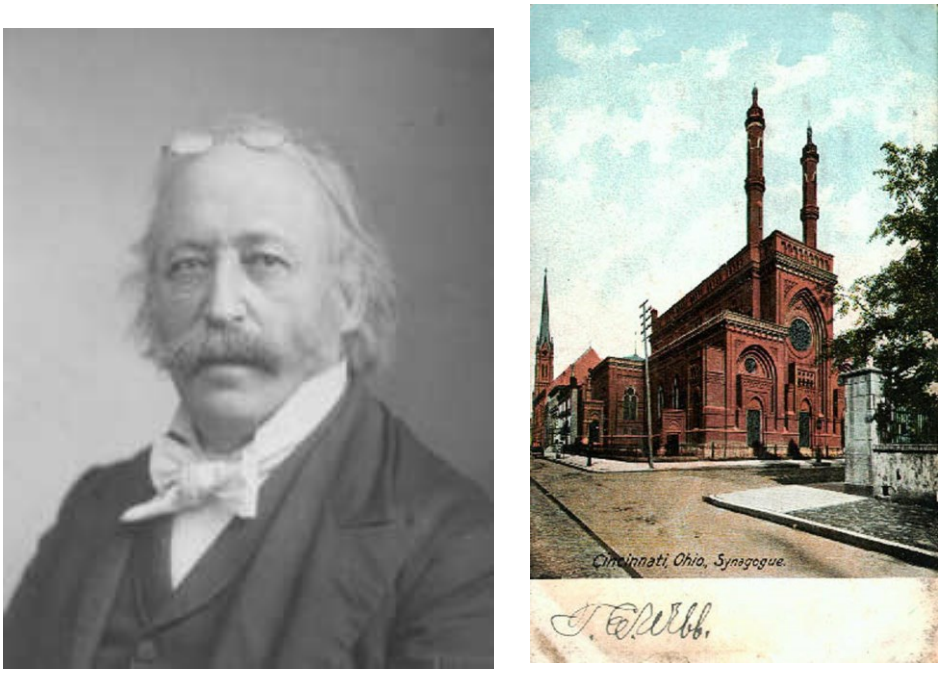


Figure 67.
Above left: Photograph of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise. Source: The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives.
Above right: Postcard of Plum Street Temple. Source: Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv, Israel.
Below: Architect James Keys Wilson in an article from *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1970. Source: Plum Street Temple Archives.

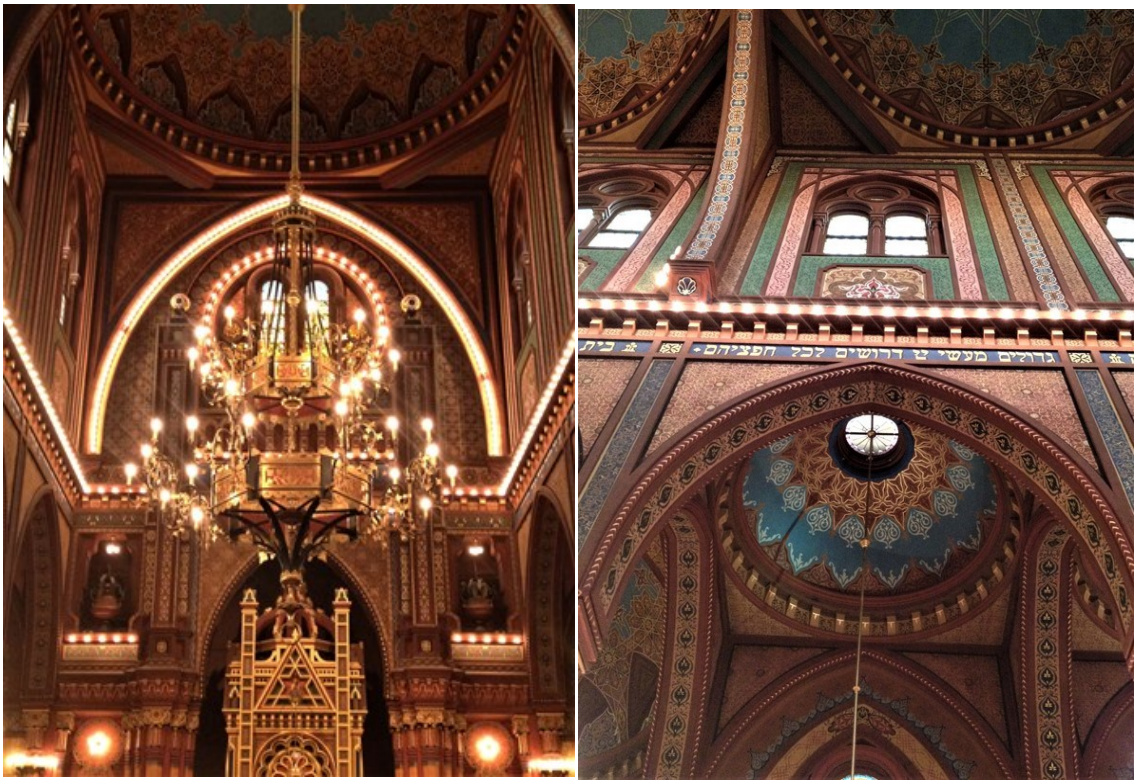


Figure 68. Plum Street Temple. James Keys Wilson, architect, 1866.
Main sanctuary facing the ark and wall decoration. Photos taken by the author.

Figure 69. Plum Street Temple. James Keys Wilson, architect, 1866.
Main sanctuary, inner dome ornament.
Photo taken by the author.

Figure 70. Plum Street Temple. James Keys Wilson, architect, 1866.
Main sanctuary, surface decoration. Ceiling detail photo taken by Samuel Gruber and below photo taken by the author.

Figure 71. Owen Jones, Byzantine No. 3: Mosaics. *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection. New York Public Library, New York.

Figure 72. Plum Street Temple. James Keys Wilson, architect, 1866.
Synagogue stencils used during restoration.
Photos taken by the author.

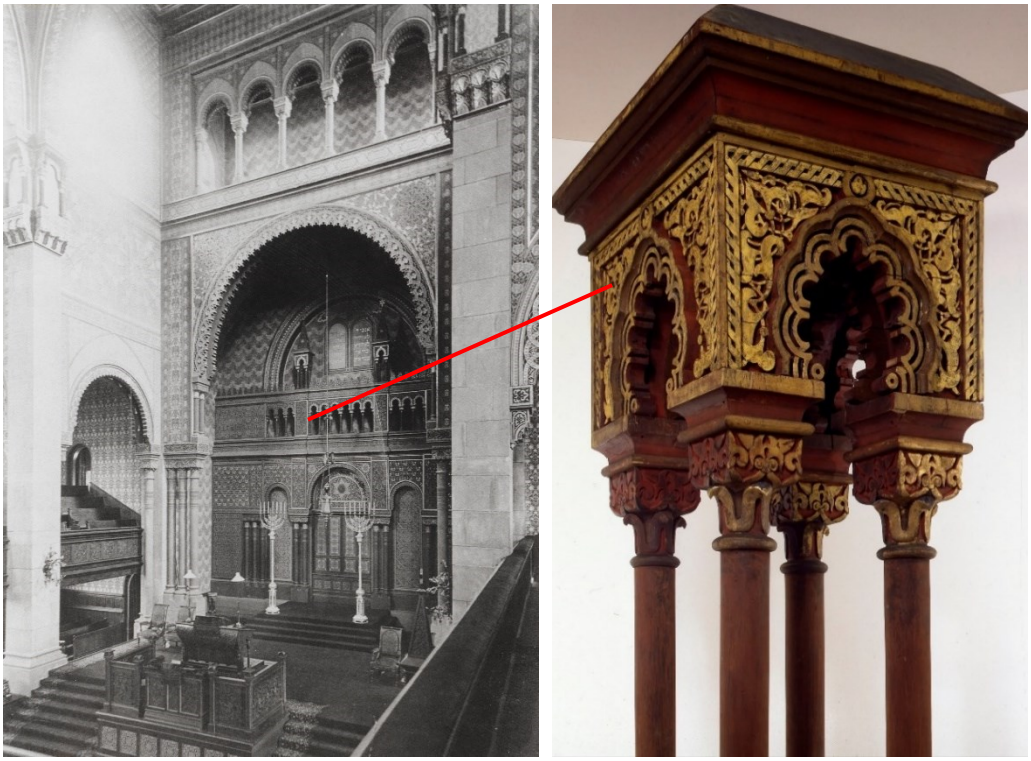


Figure 73. *Above:* Louis Comfort Tiffany. Designer: Edward C. Moore, Lewis May vase, Temple Emanu-El, New York. Source: Bernard Museum of Judaica, New York [CEE 31-01].
Street view of the original Temple Emanu-El in in 1868. Interior photograph of original. Source: Bernard Museum of Judaica, New York.

Below: Emanu-El at 43rd Street, 1895, and architectural fragment, Bernard Museum of Judaica, Congregation Emanu-El, New York.
Source: Gross Family Collection,
Tel Aviv, Israel.

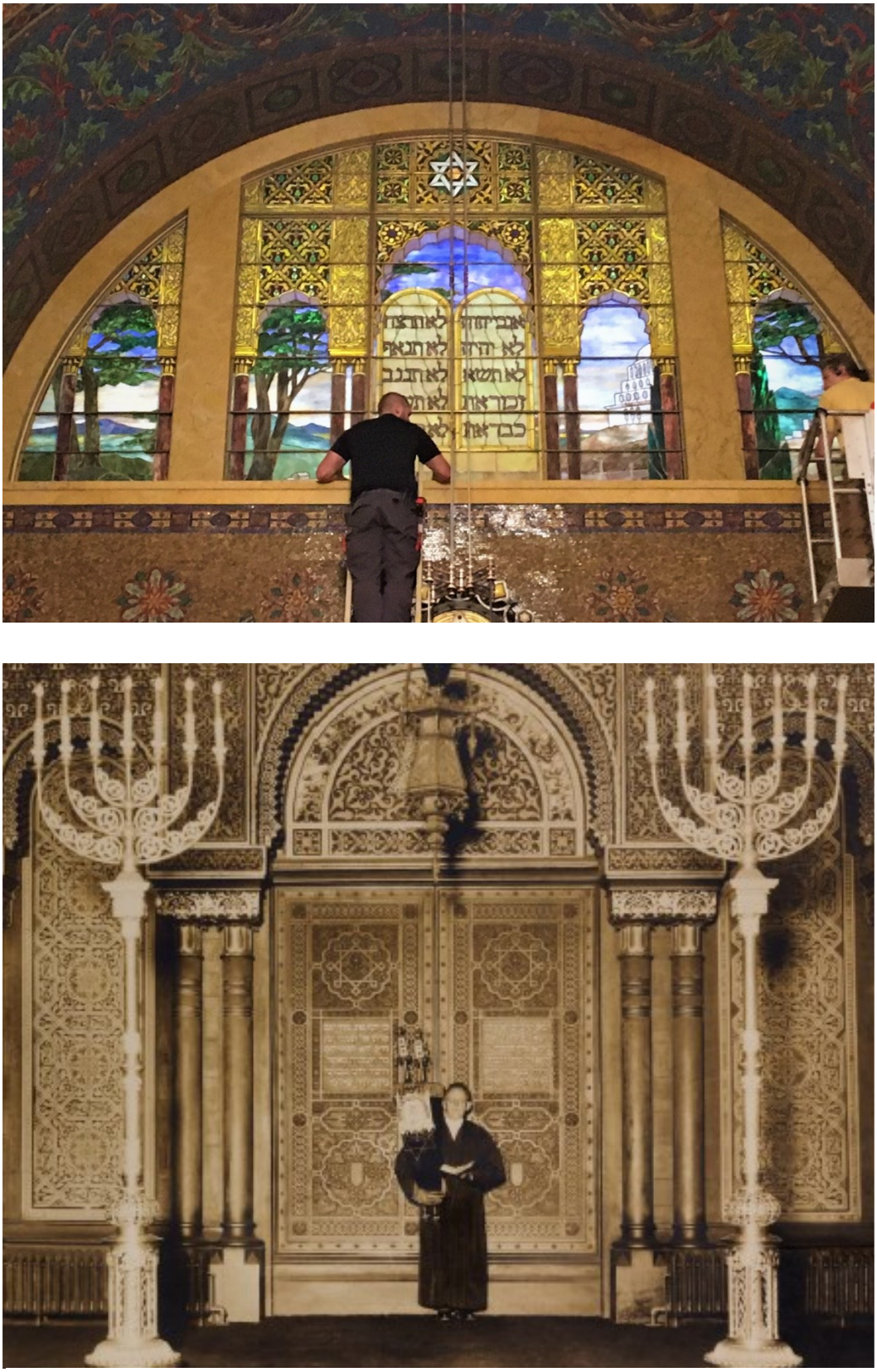


Figure 74. Louis Comfort Tiffany, Stained-glass window (Photo taken by the author) and below synagogue ark doors, Temple Emanu-El, New York.
Source: *American Architect* 98, no. 1825 (1910).

Figure 75. *Above:* Henry Fernbach, architect. Central Synagogue's main sanctuary. Photo taken by the author.

Below: Street View of Central Synagogue in *Harper's Weekly*, "The New Synagogue," 1872.

Figure 76. Henry Fernbach, architect.
Main sanctuary, ceiling with star patterns. Central Synagogue, New York.
Photo taken by the author.

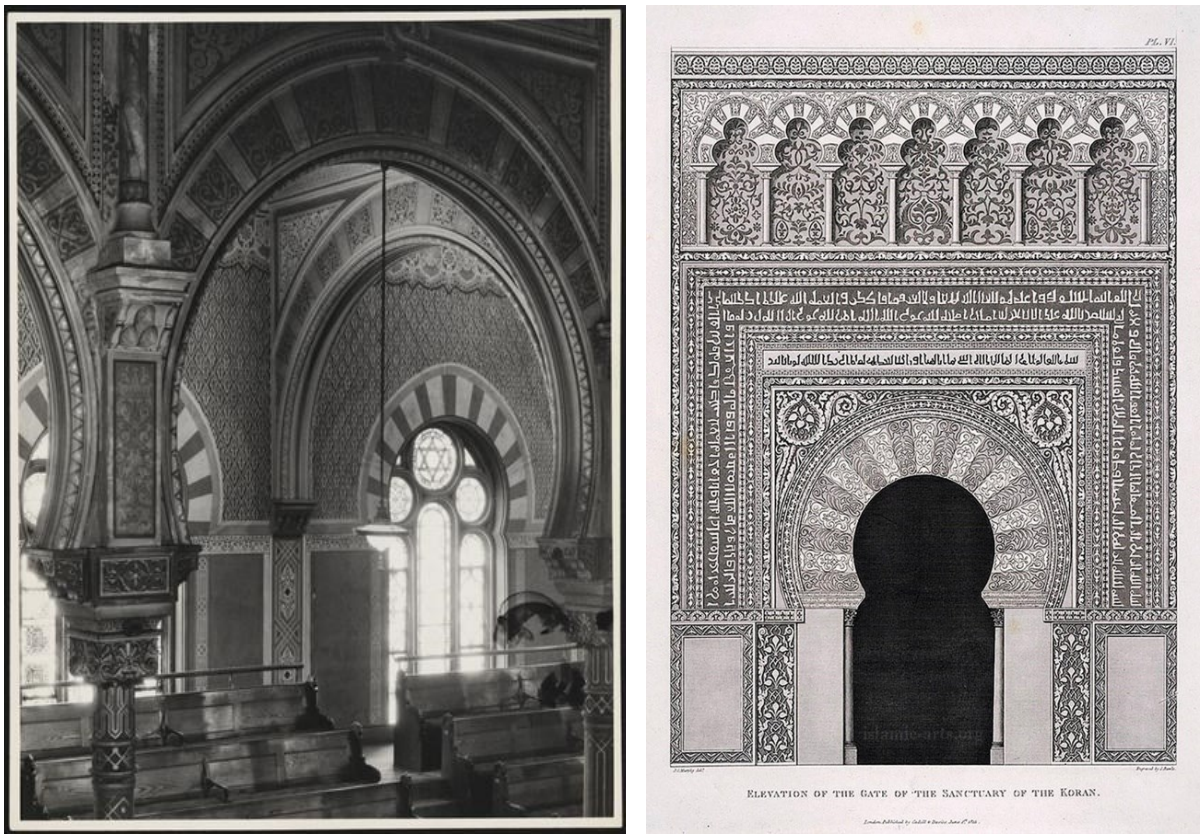


Figure 77. *(Left)* Henry Fernbach, architect. Interior, Central Synagogue, 1946 New York. Museum number: X2011.35.46. © Museum of the City New York.

(Right) Elevation of the gate of the sanctuary of the Koran – from the book *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* by James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814), published in 1816.

Figure 78. *Above (R):* Star pattern from Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra from Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 and 1837.*

Above (L): Central Synagogue (NY) ceiling. *Bottom Row*: Upper gallery wall, Central Synagogue, NY. Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photos taken by the author.

Figure 79.
Vladimir Stasov and David Gunzburg, *L'Ornement Hébreu*.
Front plate and plate VII (Berlin: 1905).
National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

Figure 80
Vladimir Stasov and David Gunzburg, *L'Ornement Hébreu*.
Plate XIX (Berlin: 1905).
National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

Figure 81.
Boris Schatz, Jerusalem, 1909.
Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.

Figure 82.
Theodor Herzl photographed by the artist Ephraim Moses Lilien. Herzl observing the Rhine from the balcony of Hotel Les Trois Rois during the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 in Basel.

Figure 83.
Above: Avraham Baradan and student workers next to the Max Schatz carpet, 1908. © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Below: Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, 1906–1913, rug, wool, knotted pile on cotton ground. Accession Number: F 5802, The Jewish Museum, New York. © TheJewishMuseum.org.

Figure 84.
Above: Hanukkah Lamp, Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, 1908–1929.
Silver: cast, filigree, and pierced; turquoise; carnelian. Accession Number: F 4904.
The Jewish Museum, New York. © TheJewishMuseum.org.

Below (L.): Hanging plate with Bezalel buildings, engraved brass sheet,
Item Code: ICMS_IMJ_353806
Below (R.): Bowl with damascene work. Brass, engraved; silver and copper
Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, 1906–1929. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Credit:
The Alan and Riva Slifka Collection

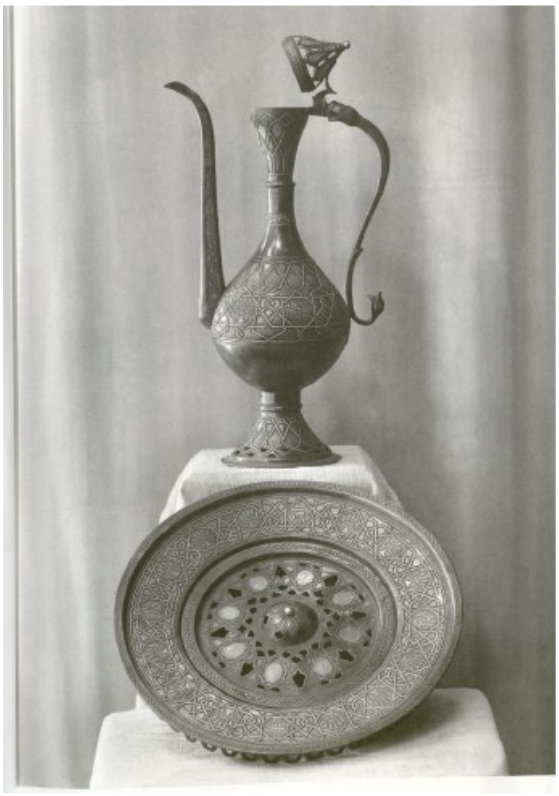


Figure 85.
Above: Alfred Salzman workshop with Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, ewer and bowl for ritual washing of hands, 1913. Brass, engraved, silver and copper.
Credit: The Alan B. Slifka Collection in the Israel Museum.

Below: Avraham Baradon, Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, 1909-1914 (?)
Brass, silver, and copper vases with damascene work.
Photos © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

Figure 86.
Above (L): Yaakov Stark in his studio, 1906.

Above (R.) and Below: Examples of typography and decoration, Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts, 1906-1912. Names and monograms in interwoven Hebrew letters; Decorative illustrations based on the letter *lamed*; Decorative designs based on the *menorah* motif and palm tree. Pen, brush and India ink on paper

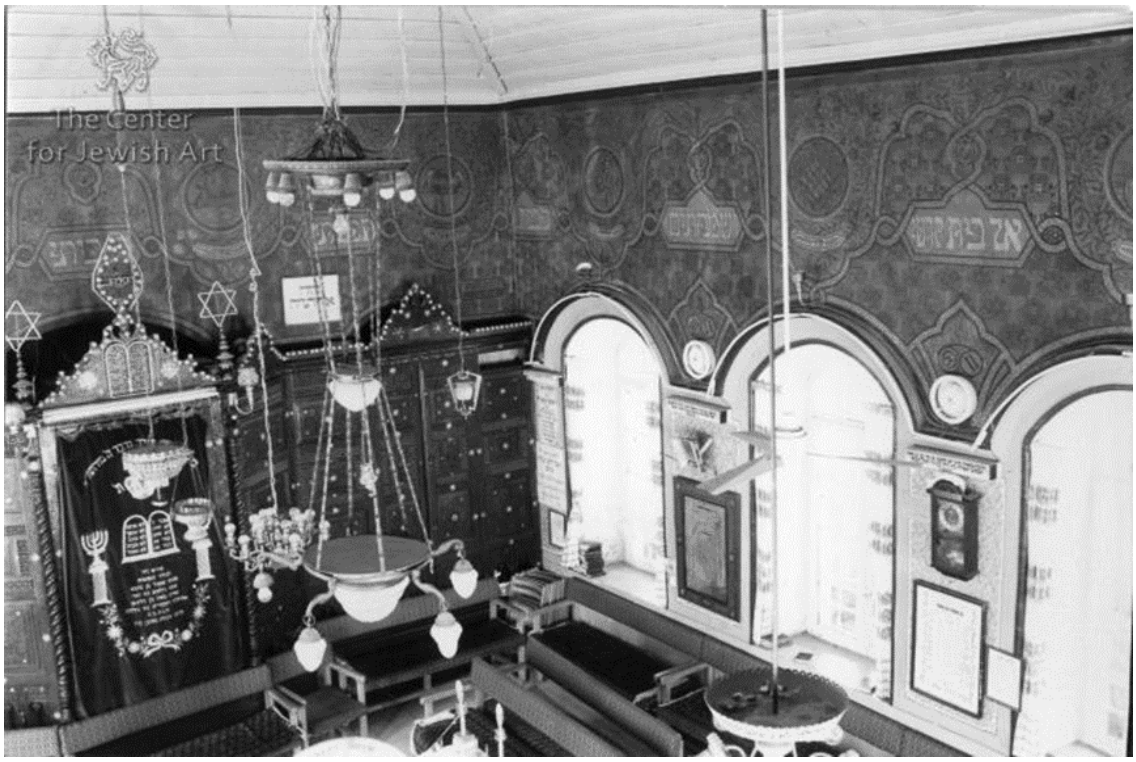
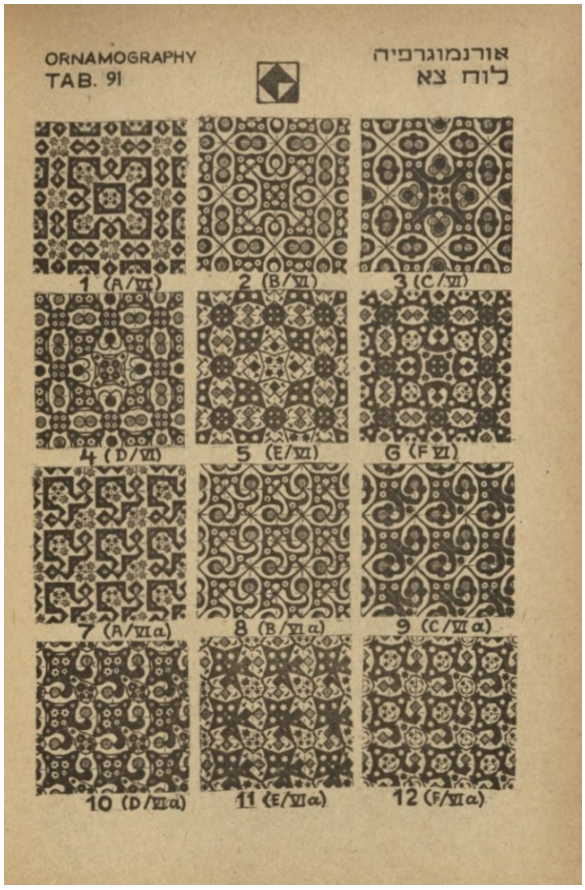


Figure 87.
Yaakov Stark, Ades Synagogue, Jerusalem, 1912–1913, photograph of interior
Object ID: 10936, © Center for Jewish Art, Jerusalem.
Photographer: Zev Radovan, 1982.

Figure 88.
Yaakov Stark, Ades Synagogue in Jerusalem, 1912–1913.
Center for Jewish Art, Jerusalem.
Photographer: Zev Radovan, 1982.



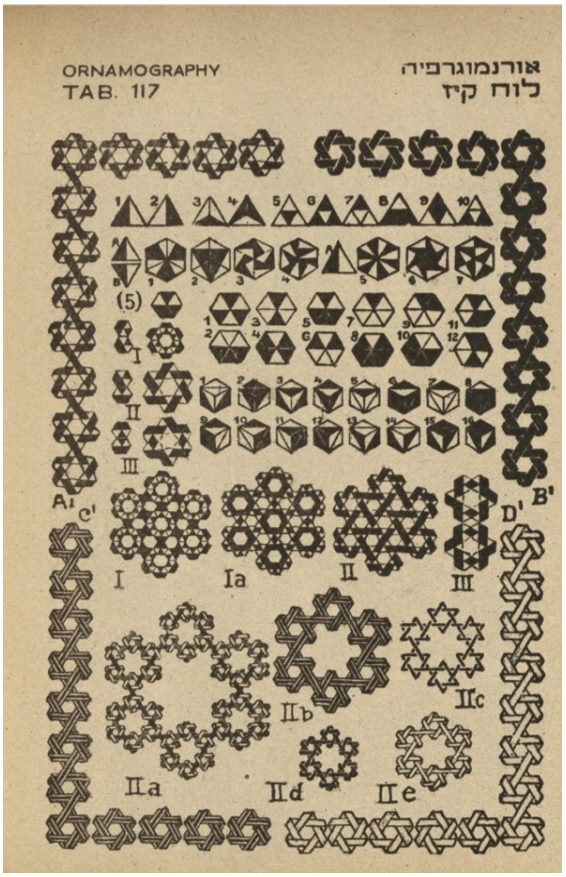


Figure 89.
Ornamography: The Principles of Geometrical Ornament and Its Use in Decorative Art by Nathan Ben Zion Havkin.

Thomas Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Bibliography

Ackerman, Gerald M. *American Orientalists*. Paris: ACR Edition, 1994.

Adamson, Glenn. *The Invention of Craft*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.

———. *Thinking Through Craft*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007.

Agrest, Diana. *Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991.

Albarn, Keith, Jenny Miall Smith, Stanford Steele, and Dinah Walker. *The Language of Pattern: An Enquiry Inspired by Islamic Decoration*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974.

Alofsin, Anthony. *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867-1933*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

American Architect 98, no.1825. (December 1910): 200M

Anderson, Glaire D., and Mariam Rosser-Owen. *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*. Boston: Brill Publishers, 2007.

Avrutin, Eugene M., ed. *Photographing the Jewish Nation: Pictures from S. An-sky's Ethnographic Expeditions*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009.

Aynsley, Jeremy. *Designing Modern Germany*. London: Reaktion Books, 2009.

Bacha, Myriam, ed. *Architectures au Maghreb (XIXe-XXe siècles): Réinvention du patrimoine*. Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2011.

———. "Tourisme et patrimoine dans la Tunisie précoloniale et coloniale: interactions et dépendances." In *Le tourisme dans l'empire français : Politiques, pratiques et imaginaires (XIXe-XXe siècles): Un outil de la domination coloniale?* edited by Colette Zytnicki and Habib Kazdaghli, 155-163. Paris, Publications de la Société française d'histoire d'outre-mer, 2009.

Baer, Eva. *Islamic Ornament*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Ballantine, James. *The Life of David Roberts, R.A.: Compiled from His Journals and Other Sources*. Edinburgh, 1866.

Bartal, Israel. *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881*. Edited by Chaya Naor. Philadelphia: University no. 4 (2004): 19–27.

Bažant, Jan. "The Classical Tradition and Nationalism: The Art and Architecture of Prague, 1860–1900." *A Handbook to Classical Reception in Eastern and Central Europe*, edited by Zara Martirosova Torlone, Dana LaCourse Munteanu. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017.

Bedoire, Fredric. *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture, 1830-1930*. Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2004.

Behadad, Ali. *Camera Orientalis*: *Reflections on Photography of the Middle East*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction.* Leiden: Brill Publishing, 1992.

———. "The Visual Transformation of Egypt During the Reign of Muhammad Ali." In *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism*, edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Ben-Dov, Meir. *The Golden Age: Synagogues of Spain in History and Architecture*. Jerusalem: Urim, 2009.

Bell, Quentin. *The Schools of Design.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.

Berger, Maurice, Joan Rosenbaum, Vivian B. Mann, and Norman L. Kleeblatt, eds. *Masterworks of the Jewish Museum*. New York: Jewish Museum, 2004.

Berger, Natalia. *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2018.

Bier, Carol, and Priscilla Parsons Soucek, eds. *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

Bierman, Irene A., Mohammad al-Asad, and A. İpek Türeli. "Architecture." In *the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, edited by John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online. December 5, 2013.*

Bismuth-Jarrassé, Colette, and Dominique Jarrassé. *Synagogues de Tunisie : Monuments d'une Histoire et d'une Identité*. Le Kremlin-Bicêtre : Esthétiques du divers, 2010.

Blair, Sheila S., and Jonathan M. Bloom. "The Mirage of Islamic Art: Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field." *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 152-184.

———. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Blake, Peter. *An American Synagogue for Today and Tomorrow: A Guide Book to Synagogue Design and Construction*. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1954.

Bloom, Jonathan M., and Sheila S. Blair, eds. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Bonner, Jay. *Islamic Geometric Patterns: Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction*. New York: Springer, 2017.

Bonython Elizabeth, Burton, Anthony. *The Life and Work of Henry Cole*. London, V&A Publications, 2003.

Bourgoin, Jules. *Les Arts Arabes: Architecture; menuiserie - bronzes - plafonds - revetements, marbres - pavements - vitraux - etc., avec une table descriptive et explicative et le trait general de l'art arabe*. Paris: Vve. A. Morel, 1873.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation." *Journal of Architectural Education* 41, no. 4 (1988): 38-45.

———. "Orientalism and Architectural Culture." *Social Scientist* 14, no. 7 (1986): 46-58.

Braga, Ariane Varela. *Une Théorie Universelle au Milieu du XIXe Siècle: La Grammar of Ornament d'Owen Jones*. Rome: Campisano Editore, 2017.

———., ed. *Ornamento, Tra Arte e Design : Interpretazioni, Percorsi e Mutazioni Nell'ottocento; Atti Della Giornata Di Studi Internazionale Del 23 Aprile 2009 All'Istituto Svizzero Di Roma*. Basel: Schwabe, 2013.

Brann, Ross, and Adam Sutcliffe, eds. *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From Al-Andalus to the Haskalah*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Breier, Alois, Max Eisler, and Max Grunwald. *Holzsynagogen in Polen*. Baden, Austria, 1934.

Brett, David. *Rethinking Decoration: Pleasure and Ideology in the Visual Arts*. New York: Cambridge

University Press, 2005.

———. "Drawing and the Ideology of Industrialization." *Design Issues* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1986): 59-72. The MIT Press.

Buley, R. Carlyle. *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983.

Burke, Doreen Bolger, ed. *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.

Busch, Jason T., Catherine Futter, Regina Lee Blaszczyk, Stephen Harrison, et al. *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012.

Bush, Olga. *Reframing the Alhambra: Architecture, Poetry, Textiles and Court Ceremonial*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

———. "The Architecture of Jewish Identity: The Neo-Islamic Central Synagogue of New York." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (2004): 180–201.

Cadness, Henry. *Stencil-Craft: Colour Decoration by Means of Stenciling*. London: Sir I. Pitman and Sons, 1921.

Calloway, Stephen, and Lynn Federle Orr, eds. *The Cult of Beauty: The Victorian Avant-Garde 1860-1900.* London: V&A Publishing, 2011.

Carroll, Maureen. *Earthly Paradises: Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology*. London: The British Museum Press, 2003.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Chatterjee, Anuradha. "Tectonic into Textile: John Ruskin and His Obsession with the Architectural Surface." *Textile* 7, no. 1 (2009): 68–97.

Chestnova, Elena. "Ornamental Design is… a kind of practical science: Theories of Ornament at the London School of Design and Department of Science." *Journal of Art Historiography* 11 (2014): 1-18.

Christie, Archibald H. *Traditional Methods of Pattern Designing: An Introduction to the Study of Formal Ornament.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931.

Clévenot, Dominique, and Gérard Degeorge. *Splendors of Islam: Architecture, Decoration, and Design*. New York: Vendome Press, 2000.

Coenen Snyder, Saskia. *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Cohen, Julie-Marthe, Shlomo Berger, and Irene E. Zwiep, eds. *Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004.

Cohen, Richard I. *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Cohen-Mushlin, Aliza, Harmen Thies, and Daniela Gauding, eds. *Synagogenarchitektur in Deutschland: Dokumentation zur Ausstellung*. Petersberg: M. Imhof Verlag, 2008.

Cohen-Mushlin, Aliza, Harmen Thies, and Bezalel Narkiss, eds. *Jewish Architecture in Europe*. Petersberg: M. Imhof Verlag, 2010.

Collins, Peter. *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*. 2nd ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.

Conway, David. *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Conway-Jones, Ann. *Gregory of Nyssa's Tabernacle Imagery in Its Jewish and Christian Contexts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Coste, Pascal. *Architecture Arabe ; ou Monuments du Kaire et Dessinés, de 1818 à 1826*. Paris : L'Institut de France, 1839.

Crinson, Mark. *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Critchlow, Keith. *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.

Danby, Miles. *Moorish Style*. London: Phaidon Press, 1995.

Davidovitch, Nitza, and Eyal Lewin, eds., *Warsaw and Jerusalem: Polish-Jewish History, Culture, Values, and Education between Paradise and Inferno*. Irvine, CA: BrownWalker Press, 2018.

Davis, John. *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Day, Lewis F. "The Application of Ornament." *The Decorator and Furnisher* 18, no. 4 (1891): 136-137.

De Breffny, Brian. *The Synagogue*. New York: Macmillan Publishing & Co., 1978.

Diefenbach, Leonhard. *Geometrische Ornamentik*, 1892.

Dolmetsch, Henrich. *Ornamental Treasures: A Collection of Designs from India, China, Japan, Italy, France, Germany, etc. of all Styles and Times Comprising 100 Plates*. London: A.W. Cowan, 1888.

Don, Monty, and Derry Moore. *Paradise Gardens: The World's Most Beautiful Islamic Gardens*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2018.

Doordan, Dennis P., ed. *Design History: An Anthology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.

Durant, Stuart. *Ornament: A Survey of Decoration since 1830*. London: Macdonald, 1995.

Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of Its Global Reproducibility*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Dyce, William. "Lecture on Ornament Delivered to the Students of the London School of Design." *Journal of Design and Manufactures* 1 and 2 (1849): 27-28 and 64-67.

"Edward C. Moore Collection." *The Collector* 3, no. 13 (1892): 199-201.

Edwards, Holly, Brian T. Allen, Steven Charles Caton, Zeynep Çelik, et al. *Noble Dreams Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America 1870-1930*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Efron, John M. *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Eggleton, Lara. "History in the Making: The Ornament of the Alhambra and the Past-Facing Present." *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1-29.

Eisler, Colin. “Wagner’s Three Synagogues.” *Artibus et Historiae* 25, no. 50 (2004): 9-15.

Epstein, Lawrence J. *The Dream of Zion: The Story of the First Zionist Congress*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.

Epstein, Michael Marc. *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Epstein-Mil, Ron. *Die Synagogen der Schweiz: Bauten zwischen Emanzipation, Assimilation und Akkulturation*. Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2008.

Ettinghausen, Richard, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins. *Islamic Art and Architecture 650-1250*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

Espagne, Michel, Bénédicte Savoy, and Céline Trautmann-Waller, eds. *Franz Theodor Kugler: Deutscher Kunsthistoriker und Berliner Dichter*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010.

Evers, Bernd, Christof Thoenes, and Kunstbibliothek Berlin, eds. *Architectural Theory: From the Renaissance to the Present*. Cologne: Taschen, 2003.

Feiner, Shmuel. *The Origins of Jewish Secularization in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

———. *The Jewish Enlightenment.* Translated by Chaya Naor. Jerusalem: The Zalman Center for Jewish History, 2002.

Felton, Anton. *Jewish Carpets: A History and Guide*. Suffolk: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1997.

Ferry, Kathryn. “Printing the Alhambra: Owen Jones and Chromolithography. *Architectural History*, Vol. 46, (2003).

Fine, Steven, Louis H. Feldman, and Center for Israel Studies (Yeshiva University), eds. *The Temple of Jerusalem: From Moses to the Messiah: In Honor of Professor Louis H. Feldman*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2011.

Finlayson, Cynthia. “Behind the Arabesque: Understanding Islamic Art and Architecture.” *BYU Studies Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2001): Article 6.

Fish, Elizabeth L. Kerr. “Edward C. Moore and Tiffany Islamic-Style Silver, c. 1867-1889.” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 6, no. 2 (1999): 42–63.

Flaubert, Gustave, and Francis Steegmuller, eds. *Flaubert in Egypt: A Sensibility on Tour*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1996.

Flood, Finbarr Barry, and Gülru Necipoğlu, eds. *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2017.

Flores, Carol A. Hrvol. *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age in Transition*. New York: Rizzoli, 2006.

Focillon, Henri. *The Life of Forms in Art*. New York: Zone Books, 1989.

Folberg, Neil, and Yom Tov Assis. *And I Shall Dwell among Them: Historic Synagogues of the World*. New York: Aperture Foundation, 1995.

Förster, Ludwig. “Das Israelitische Bethaus in Der Wiener Vorstadt Leopoldstadt, Nebst den dazu Gehörigen Wohngebäuden.” *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 24 (1859): 13-16.

———. "Über Synagogenbau." *Allegemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 23 (1858): 314–316.

Frank, Isabelle, ed. *The Theory of Decorative Art: An Anthology of European and American Writings, 1750-1940*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Frankel, Jonathan, and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds. *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Frankel, Nicholas. "The Ecstasy of Decoration: The Grammar of Ornament as an Embodied Experience." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2, no. 3 (2003). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/winter03/246-the-ecstasy-of-decoration-the-grammar-of-ornament-as-embodied-experience.

Frankel, Zacharias. *Rede bei der Grundsteinlegung der neuen Synagoge zu Dresden*, Dresden: Ramming, 1838.

Friedrichsmeyer, Sara, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds. *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Gamwell, Lynn, and Neil de Grasse Tyson. *Mathematics + Art: A Cultural History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Gerritsen, Anne, and Giorgio Riello, eds. *Writing Material Culture History*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.

Gernsheim, Helmut, and Alison Gernsheim. *L.J.M. Daguerre (1787-1851): The World's First Photographer and Inventor of the Daguerreotype.* Cleveland: World Publishing Company,1956.

Gharipour, Mohammad, ed. *Synagogues in the Islamic World: Architecture, Design, and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Gharipour, Mohammad, and Nilay Özlü, eds. *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Giese, Francine, ed. *Mythos Orient: Ein Berner Architekt in Kairo; Katalog der Ausstellung zum 160-jährigen Jubiläum des 1855 vollendeten Selamlik im Schloss Oberhofen, 13. Juni bis 13. September 2015*. Oberhofen: Schloss Oberhofen, 2015.

Giese, Francine, and Ariane Varela Braga. *The Power of Symbols: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective.* Bern: Peter Lang, 2018.

———. *A Fashionable Style: Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2017.

———. eds. *The Myth of the Orient: Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2016.

Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, Olga. "Jewish Folk Arts and Crafts in a Shtetl." *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* D, no. 2 (1985): 81–85.

Goldenbogen, Nora, and Heinz-Joachim Aris, eds. *Einst und jetzt: Zur Geschichte der Dresdner Synagoge und ihrer Gemeinde*. Dresden: Ddp Goldenbogen, 2001.

Goldfarb, Michael. *Emancipation: How Liberating Europe's Jews from the Ghetto Led to Revolution and Renaissance*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009.

Goldhill, Simon. "Photography and the Real: The Biblical Gaze and the Professional Album in the Holy Land." In *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form, 1760-1900*, edited by Mary Henes and Brian H. Murray, 87-111. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Golombek, Lisa. "The Draped Universe of Islam." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in Islam*, edited by

Priscilla Soucek, 25-38. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

Gombrich, Ernst Hans. *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*. 2nd ed. London: Phaidon Press, 1984.

Gonzalez, Valérie. *Beauty and Islam: Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

Goodenough, Erwin R. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Gordon, Sophie. *Cities, Citadels, and Sights of the Near East: Francis Bedford's Nineteenth-Century Photographs of Egypt, the Levant, and Constantinople*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2014.

Government School of Design. *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1842.

Grabar, Oleg. *Islamic Art and Beyond*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2006.

———. *The Mediation of Ornament*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

———. *The Formation of Islamic Art*. Rev. and enl. ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.

———. *The Alhambra*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Grossman, Cissy, Ronald B. Sobel, and Reva Godlove Kirschberg, eds. *A Temple Treasury: The Judaica Collection of Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1989.

Grossman, Grace Cohen. *Jewish Art*. New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1995.

Grossman, Ron. "Historic Papers Speak to Collector of Judaica." *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2003.

Gruber, Samuel, Paul Rocheleau, and Scott J. Tilden. *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community*. New York: Rizzoli, 2003.

Gunzberg, David, and Vladimir Stasov. *L'Ornement Hébreu*. Leipzig : K.W. Hiersemann, 1905.

Hachlili, Rachel. *Ancient Synagogues – Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2013.

Hackforth-Jones, Jocelyn, and Mary Roberts, eds. *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2005.

Hagedorn, Annette. "The Development of Islamic Art History in Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." In *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections 1850-1950*, edited by Stephan Vernoit, 117-127. London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.

Hammer-Schenk, Harold. "Jüdische Selbstdarstellung im Synagogenbau in Böhmen, Mähren und Wien im 19. Jahrhundert." In Wie schön sind deine Zelte, Jakob, deine Wohnungen, Israel! ed. by Rainer Kampling. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009.

Hammer-Schenk, Harold. *Synagogen in Deutschland: Geschichte einer Baugattung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (1780-1933)*. Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1981.

Hann, M.A. *Symbol, Pattern and Symmetry: The Cultural Significance of Structure*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.

Harper's Weekly. "The New Synagogue." *Harper's Weekly*. July 6, 1872, 532.

Harviainen, Tapani. “Abraham Firkovich, the Aleppo Codex, and Its Dedication.” In *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, Volume 1: Biblical, Rabbinical and Medieval Studies*, edited by Judit Targarona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, 131-136. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1999.

Hasan-Rokem, Galit. “Jews as Postcards, or Postcards as Jews: Mobility in a Modern Genre.” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 4 (2009): 505-546.

Haverstock, Mary Sayre, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, eds. *Artists in Ohio: A Biographical Dictionary 1787-1900*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000.

Havkin, Nathan Ben-Zion. *Ornamography: The Principles of Geometrical Ornament and Its Use in Decorative Art*. Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1945.

Hay, David Ramsey, *An Essay on Ornamental Design, It’s Principles, Practice*. London: D. Bogue, 1844.

Hay, Jonathan. *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010.

Heck, Kilian. “Die Bezüglichkeit der Kunst Zum Leben: Franz Kugler und das Erste Akademische Lehrprogramm der Kunstgeschichte.” *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (2005): 7–15.

Heimann-Jelinek, Felicitas. “Judaica: An Interface between Jewish and Non-Jewish Culture in Central Europe.” In *Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context*, edited by Julie-Marthe Cohen, Shlomo Berger, and Irene E. Zwiep, 147-162. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004.

Heller, Imre. *The Synagogues of Hungary: An Album*. New York: The Diplomatic Press, 1968.

Henes, Mary, and Brian H. Murray. *Travel Writing, Visual Culture, and Form*, *1760-1900*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Herrmann, Wolfgang. *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984.

Hewitt, Conrad. “The Edward C. Moore Collection.” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2, no. 6 (1907): n.p.

Hickey, Gloria, ed. *Common Ground: Contemporary Craft, Architecture and the Decorative Arts*. Hull, QC: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1998.

Hildebrand, Grant. “The Language of Architecture, A Contribution to Architectural Theory Niels Lunning Prak.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29, no. 1 (1970): 74–75.

Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Hodkinson, James, John Walker, Shaswati Mazumdar, and Johannes Feichtinger, eds. *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013.

Hoffman, Stefani and Ezra Mendelsohn, eds., *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Pres, 2008.

Holliday, Kathryn E. *Leopold Eidlitz: Architecture and Idealism in the Gilded Age*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008.

Holt, Elizabeth Basye Gilmore, ed. *The Art of All Nations, 1850-73: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1981.

Homan, Michael M. *To Your Tents, O Israel! The Terminology, Function, Form, and Symbolism of Tents in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2002.

Horowitz, Brian J. *Jewish Philanthropy and Enlightenment in Late-Tsarist Russia.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Houze, Rebecca. "The Textile as Structural Framework: Gottfried Semper's Bekleidungsprinzip and the Case of Vienna 1900." *Textile* 4, no. 3 (2006): 292-311.

Howe, Kathleen Stewart. *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Huberman, Ida. *Livings Symbols: Symbols in Jewish Art and Tradition*. Tel Aviv: Masada Publishing, 1988.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2003.

Huggins, Samuel. *The Course and Current of Architecture: Being an Historical Account of the Origin, Successive and Simultaneous Developments, Relations, Periods and Characteristic of Its Various Styles*. London: John Weale, 1863.

Hvattum, Mari. *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Ida-Goldman, Batsheva. *Alois Breyer, El Lissitzky, Frank Stella: Wooden Synagogues*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Museum of Art, 2014.

Iversen, Kurt. 1970, "Cincinnati Skyline Shapers." *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, 25 Oct 1970. Plum Street Temple Archives.

Iversen, Margaret. *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.

Jacobs, Joseph, and Lucien Wolf. *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London 1887*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Jarassé, Dominique. *Synagogues: Architecture and Jewish Identity*. Paris: Vilo International, 2001.

Jennings, Jan. "Controlling Passion: The Turn-of-the-Century Wallpaper Dilemma." *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (1996): 243-264.

Jespersen, John Kresten. "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856." *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2007): 143-153.

Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament: Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament; One Hundred and Twelve Plates*. London: Day & Son, 1856.

Jones, Owen, and Jules Goury. *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra, from Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 by Jules Goury, and in 1834 and 1837 by Owen Jones. With a Complete Translation of the Arabic Inscriptions, and an Historical Notice of the Kings of Granada from the Conquest of That City by the Arabs to the Expulsion of the Moors by Pasqual de Gayangos*. London: O. Jones, 1842.

Jubiläums-Synagoge, Závěrečná Listina [Schlusssteinurkunde],1906, Archive of the Jewish Museum, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Kadish, Sharman. *The Synagogues of Britain and Ireland: An Architectural and Social History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011.

———. “Constructing Identity: Anglo-Jewry and Synagogue Architecture.” *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 386-408.

Kadoi, Yuka, and Iván Szántó, eds, *The Shaping of Persian Art: Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 112.

Kalmar, Ivan Davidson. “Moorish Style: Orientalism, the Jews, and Synagogue Architecture.” *Jewish Social Studies* 7, no. 3 (2001): 68-100.

———. “The Origins of the ‘Spanish Synagogue’ of Prague.” *Judaica Bohemiae* 35 (1999): 158-210.

Kalmar, Ivan Davidson, and Derek Jonathan Penslar, eds. *Orientalism and the Jews*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2005.

Kalmár, Lajos, Gábor Deutsch, and Vera Faragó. *The Dohány Street Synagogue and the Treasures of the Jewish Museum*. Pécs: Alexandra, 2005.

Kaplan, Yosef, ed. *Jews and Conversos: Studies in Society and the Inquisition: Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 16-21, 1981*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985.

Karge, Henrik. “Projecting the Future in German Art Historiography of the Nineteenth Century: Franz Kugler, Karl Schnaase, and Gottfried Semper.” *Journal of Art Historiography* 9 (2013): https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/karge.pdf.

Katz, Jacob. *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, eds. *Circulations in the Global History of Art*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.

Kenny, Daniel J. *Illustrated Guide to Cincinnati and the World’s Columbian Exposition … Views and Full Descriptions of the Exposition Buildings … Ohio at the Great Columbia Exposition Guide to Cincinnati and Her Famous Suburbs*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1893.

Kindel, Eric. “Fit to be Seen: Stencils for Architects, Engineers and Surveyors.” *AA Files* 61 (2010): 100-109.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Fabric of Jewish Life: Textiles from the Jewish Museum Collection*. Vol. 1. New York: Jewish Museum, 1977.

Klein, Rudolf. *Metropolitan Jewish Cemeteries of the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Study*. Petersberg: M. Imhof Verlag, 2018.

———. *Synagogues in Hungary 1782-1918: Genealogy, Typology and Architectural Significance*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017.

———. *The Great Synagogue of Budapest*. Budapest: Terc Publishing, 2008.

———. “Oriental-Style Synagogues in Austria-Hungary: Philosophy and Historical Significance.” *Ars Judaica* 2, no. 1 (2006): 117-134.

Kochan, Lionel. *Beyond the Graven Image: A Jewish View*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.

Koppelkamm, Stefan. *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe*. Stuttgart: Menges, 2015.

Kormos, Peter, András Villányi, and Raj Tamás. *The Synagogues of Budapest.* Budapest: Villányi Kiadó, 2007.

Krinsky, Carol Herselle. *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985.

Kugler, Franz. *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1842.

Künzl, Hannelore. *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogenbau des 19. und Frühen 20. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt on the Main: Peter Lang, 1984.

Kybalová, Ludmila, Eva Kosakova, and Alexandr Putik, eds. *Textiles from Bohemian and Moravian Synagogues: From the Collections of the Jewish Museum in Prague*. Prague: Jewish Museum Prague, 2003.

Labrusse, Rémi. "Grammars of Ornament: Dematerialization and Embodiment from Owen Jones to Paul Klee." In *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, edited by Alina Payne and Gülru Necipoğlu, 320-333. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Lahor, Jean. *Art Nouveau*. New York: Parkstone International, 2007.

Laisram, Pallavi Pandit. *Viewing the Islamic Orient: British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century*. New Delhi: Routledge India, 2006.

Lapidus, Ira M. "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 444-460.

Lerner, L. Scott. "The Narrating Architecture of Emancipation." *Jewish Social Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 1–30.

Levy, Isaac. *The Synagogue: Its History and Function*. London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1963.

Lipis, Mimi Levy. *Symbolic Houses in Judaism: How Objects and Metaphors Construct Hybrid Places of Belonging*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2011.

Lukomski, George K. "The Wooden Synagogues of Eastern Europe." *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 66, no. 382 (1935): 14-21.

Lyons, Claire L. *Antiquity & Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005.

MacKenzie, John M. *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; Distributed exclusively in the USA and Canada by St. Martin's Pres, 1995.

MacLean, Gerald M., ed. *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.

Mallgrave, Harry Francis. *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century: A Personal and Intellectual Biography*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Mallgrave, Harry Francis and Eleftherios Ikonomou, eds *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994.

Manikowska, Ewa. "On the Crossroad of the West and the East: The Multi-Ethnic Cultural Landscape of Eastern Galicia and the Pale of Settlement." In *Photography and Cultural Heritage in the Age of Nationalisms: Europe's Eastern Borderlands (1867-1945)*, 71-110. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

Mann, Vivian B. "Recapturing the Past." In *Gilded Lions and Jeweled Horses: The Synagogue to the Carousel*, by Murray Zimiles, 1-13. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2007.

_____. *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Mancoff, Debra N. and David Roberts. *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Communications, Inc., 1999.

Manor, Dalia. *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine*. London: Routledge, 2005.

———. "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art." *Israel Studies* 6, no. 1 (2001): 55-75.

Marchand, Suzanne L. *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Marcus, Jacob R. *To Count a People: American Jewish Population Data, 1585-1984*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990.

Masheck, Joseph. "The Carpet Paradigm: Integral Flatness from Decorative to Fine Art." *Arts Magazine* 51, no. 1 (1976): 82-109.

Mayer, Roberta A. *Lockwood de Forest: Furnishing the Gilded Age with a Passion for India*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

McClung, William A. *The Architecture of Paradise: Survivals of Eden and Jerusalem*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

McSweeney, Anna. "Versions and Visions of the Alhambra in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman World." *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 22, no. 1 (2015): 44-69.

Meek, Harold A. *The Synagogue*. London: Phaidon Press, 1995.

Meikle, Jeffrey L. *Postcard America: Curt Teich and the Imaging of a Nation* 1931-1950. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013.

Meissner, Frank. "German Jews of Prague: A Quest of Self-Realization." *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society* 50, no. 2 (December 1960): 98-101.

Meyer, Franz Sales. *A Handbook of Ornament with Three Hundred Plates Containing 3000 Illustrations of the Elements and the Application of Decoration to Objects*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1894.

Meyer, Michael A. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times. Vol. 2: Emancipation and Acculturation, 1780-1871*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

———. *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995.

Micklewright, Nancy. *A Victorian Traveler in the Middle East: The Photography and Travel Writing of Annie Lady Brassey*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2017.

Miller, Michael Laurence. *Rabbis and Revolution: The Jews of Moravia in the Age of Emancipation.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Miller, Peter N., ed. *Cultural Histories of the Material World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013.

Moore, Deborah Dash. *Urban Origins of American Judaism*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014.

Móricz, Klára. *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Müller, Ines. *Die Otto Wagner-Synagoge in Budapest*. Vienna: Löcker, 1992.

Mulvin, Lynda S. “A Pioneer of “Moresque” Revival in Continental Europe: James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814).” *Art in Translation* 11, no. 2 (2019) 148-180. DOI: 10.1080/17561310.2019.1658989

Murphy, James Cavanah. *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. London, Cadell & Davies, 1815.

Muthesius, Stefan. “Towards an ‘Exakte Kunstwissenschaft’ (?): A Report on Some Recent German Books on the Progress of Mid-19th Century Art History. Part 1: Work by German Art Historians on Nineteenth Century Art Historiography since 2000.” *Journal of Art Historiography* 9 (2013): 1–34.

Naylor, Gillian. *The Arts and Crafts Movement: A Study of its Sources, Ideals and Influence on Design Theory*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1971.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H.1956*. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995.

———., ed. *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar’s Eightieth Birthday*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2008.

Necipoğlu, Gülru, and Alina Payne, eds. *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Neville, Kristoffer. “The Early Reception of Fischer von Erlach’s Entwurff Einer Historischen Architectur.” In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol.66, no.2 (2007): 160-175.

Niewhöhner Philipp, and Natalia Teteriatnikov. “The South Vestibule of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul: The Ornamental Mosaics and the Private Door of the Patriarchate,” In *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 2014, Vol.68 (2014), 117- 156.

Nilsen, Micheline, ed. *Nineteenth-Century Photographs and Architecture: Documenting History: Charting Progress and Exploring the World*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2011.

Ogata, Amy F. “Viewing Souvenirs: Peepshows and the International Expositions.” In *Journal of Design History* Vol.15, No.2 (2002).

Olin, Margaret. “From Bezalel to Max Lieberman: Jewish Art in Nineteenth-Century Art Historical Texts.” In *Jewish Identity in Modern Art History*, edited by Catherine M. Soussloff, 19-40. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

———. *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl’s Theory of Art*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.

Oliver, Liza. “Blindness Materialized: Disease, Decay and Restoration in the Napoleonic Description de l’Egypt (1809-1828).” In *Seeing Across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, edited by Dana Leibsohn, Jeanette Favrot Peterson (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

O’Kane, Bernard. “James Wild and the Mosque of Bashtak, Cairo.” In *The Arts of Mamluks in Egypt and Syria—Evolution and Impact*. edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Goettingen: Bonn University Press, 2012.

Orelli-Messerli, Barbara von. “Gottfried Semper’s Dresden Synagogue Revised: An Echo of the Alhambra?” In *The Power of a Symbol: The Alhambra in a Global Perspective*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, 139-152. Bern: Peter Lang, 2018.

———. *Gottfried Semper (1803-1879): Die Entwürfe zur Dekorativen Kunst*. Petersberg: M. Imhof, 2010.

Orlov, Alina. “First There Was the Word: Early Russian Texts on Modern Jewish Art.” *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 3 (2008): 385-402.

Paccard, André. *Traditional Islamic Craft in Moroccan Architecture*. Saint-Jorioz, France: Atelier 74, 1980.

Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. 3rd ed. Chichester, UK: Wiley, 2012.

Pappetros, Spyros. “Ornament as Weapon: Ballistics, Politics, and Architectural Adornment in Semper’s Treatise on Ancient Projectiles.” In *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, edited by Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, 50. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Parezo, Nancy J. and Don D. Fowler. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

Pařík, Arno, ed. *Symbols of Emancipation: Nineteenth-Century Synagogues in the Czech Lands*. Prague: Jewish Museum, 2013.

———. *Baroque Synagogues in the Czech Lands*. Prague: **Jewish Museum, 2011.**

———. *Prague Synagogues*. Prague: Jewish Museum, 2000.

Parvez, Z. Fareen. *Politicizing Islam: The Islamic Revival in France and India.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.Payne, Alina. *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.

———. “Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (1999): 292-299.

Peleg, Yaron. *Orientalism and the Hebrew Imagination*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*. 4th ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.

Philadelphia Museum of Art. *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978.

Philipson, David, and Louis Grossmann, eds. *Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1900.

Piechotka, Maria, and Kazimierz Piechotka. *Heaven’s Gate: Wooden Synagogues in the Territory of the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*. Warsaw: Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, 2004.

Piggott, Jan. *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854-1936*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.

Pinson, Stephen C., ed. *Monumental Journey: The Daguerreotypes of Girault de Prangey*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019.

Pitt, Leonard. *Paris Postcards: The Golden Age*. Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2016.

Plate, S. Brent, ed. *Religion, Art, and Visual Culture: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.

Polk, William R. “Islam and the West.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 131-139.

Pongracz, Patricia C. “Louis Comfort Tiffany’s Designs for American Synagogues (1889-1926).” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 51 (2016): 148-161.

Potvin, John, ed. *Oriental Interiors: Design, Identity, Space*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015.

Prisse d'Avennes, Émile, and Jules Bourgoin. *The Decorative Art of Arabia*. New York: Portland House, 1989.

Rabinovich, Vadim Zinovievich. *Masterpieces of Jewish Art*. Translated by Ludmila Lezhneva. Tel Aviv: Shlomo Cohen and Sons, Ltd., 2003.

Racinet, Auguste. *Polychromatic Ornament.* London: Henry Sotheran and Co., 1873.

———. *L'Ornement Polychrome : Deux cent vingt Planche en Couler*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1869.

Raizman, David. *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution*. 2nd ed. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2010.

Ralph, Julian. "The Postal-Card Craze." *Cosmopolitan* 32, no.4 (February 1902): 421-426.

Rampley, Matthew. "Design Reform in the Habsburg Empire: Technology, Aesthetic and Ideology." *Journal of Design History* 23, no.3 (2010).

———, ed. *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2012.

Raphael, Marc Lee. *The Synagogue in America: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.

Rapport, Mike. *1848: Year of Revolution*. New York: Perseus Book Group, 2005.

Reineke, Anika, ed. *Textile Terms: A Glossary*. Emsdetten, Germany: Edition Imorde, 2017.

Remington, Vanessa, and Sally Goodsir. *Painting Paradise: The Art of the Garden*. London: Royal Collection Trust, 2015.

Risatti, Howard. *A Theory of Craft: Function and Aesthetic Expression*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Robinson, Cynthia. "Marginal Ornament: Poetics, Mimesis and Devotion in the Palace of the Lions." In *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar's Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Gülru Necipoğlu, 185-214. Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2008.

Robson, Eleanor, and Jacqueline A. Stedall, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Mathematics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Rodov, Ilia. "What Is 'Folk' about Synagogue Art?" *Images* 9, no. 1 (2016): 49-63.

———. "The Marvelous Garden: On the Poetics of Vegetal Ornamentation in European Synagogues and Its Origins." In *Timorah: Articles on Jewish Art*, edited by Bracha Yaniv, 111-132. Ramat Gan: Department of Jewish Art, Bar-Ilan University, 2006. [Hebrew].

———. "The Eagle, Its Twin Heads and Many Faces: Synagogue Chandeliers Surmounted by Double-Headed Eagles." In *Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context*, edited by Julie-Marthe Cohen, Shlomo Berger, and Irene E. Zwiep, 77-129. Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004.

Romans, Mervyn. *Histories of Art and Design Education: Collected Essays*. Portland: Intellect Books, 2005.

Rosenberg, Chaim M. *America at the Fair: Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008.

Rosenberg, Harold. *Discovering the Present: Three Decades in Art, Culture, and Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Rosser-Owen, Miriam. “The Casts of Islamic Ornament.” In *The Cast Courts*. eds. Angus Patterson and Marjorie Trusted. London: Victoria and Albert, 2018.

Rozenblit, Marsha L. “Jews, German Culture, and the Dilemma of National Identity: The Case of Moravia,1848–1938.” In *Jewish Social Studies* 20, no. 1 (Fall 2013).

Rugiadi, Martina. “Framing an Islamic Art.” In *Monumental Journey: The Daguerreotypes of Girault de Prangey*. edited by Stephen C. Pinson, 157-163. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019.

Sabar, Shalom, Emile Schrijver; and Falk Wiesemann, eds. *Windows on Jewish Worlds: essays in honor of William Gross*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers bv, 2019.

Sabar, Shalom. *Past Perfect: The Jewish Experience in Early 20th Century Postcards*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary America, 1997.

Sachs, Angeli, Edward van Voolen, and Samuel D. Gruber, eds. *Jewish Identity in Contemporary Architecture*. Munich: Prestel, 2004.

Sağlam, Hakan. “Re-Thinking the Concept of ‘Ornament’ in Architectural Design.” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 122 (2014): 126-133.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Sarfraz, Muhammad, ed., *Geometric Modeling: Techniques, Applications, Systems and Tools*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2011.

Sarna, Jonathan D., and Benjamin Shapell. *Lincoln and the Jews: A History*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2015.

Savoy, David, ed. *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review*, Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Schafter, Debra. *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style: Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Scherman, Nosson. *Tanach: The Stone Edition; the Torah, Prophets, Writings; the Twenty-Four Books of the Bible Newly Translated and Annotated*. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 2003.

Schimmel, Annemarie. “Islamic Studies in Germany: A Historical Overview.” *Islamic Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): 401-410.

Schnaase, Carl. “Altchristliche und muhamedanische Kunst.” In *Geschichte der Bildenden Künste Im Mittelalter*. Vol. 3, 319-452. Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1844.

Schorsch, Ismar. *Leopold Zunz: Creativity in Adversity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Schumacher-Brunhes, Marie. “Enlightenment Jewish Style: The Haskalah Movement in Europe,” in *European History Online (EGO)*, published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schumacherbrunhesm-2010-en .

Schwarz, Hans-Peter, ed. *Die Architektur der Synagogue*. Frankfurt on the Main: Klett-Cotta, 1988.

Schwarzer, Mitchell. “Origins of the Art History Survey Text.” *Art Journal* 54, no. 3 (1995): 24-29.

Scott, William Bell. *The Ornamentist, or Artisan’s Manual in the Various Branches of Ornamental Art*. London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1845.

Scruton, Roger. *The Aesthetics of Architecture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Searight, Sarah. “Owen Jones: Travel and Vision of the Orient.” *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 26 (2006): 128-146.

Sembach, Klaus-Jürgen. *Art Nouveau*. Cologne: Taschen, 2012.

Semper, Gottfried. *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten; oder, Praktische Aesthetik. Ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde*. 1863.

———. “Die Synagoge Zu Dresden: Von Semper, Professor der Baukunst zu Dresden.” *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* 12 (1847): 127, Plates 103-107.

Semper, Gottfried, and Adrian von Buttlar. *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Ästhetik: Ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde; für sich betrachtet und in Beziehung zur Baukunst*. Mittenwald, Germany: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1977.

Semper, Gottfried and Harry Francis Mallgrave. *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*. Translated by Michael Robinson. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004.

Sentance, Bryan, and Polly Sentance. *Craft Traditions of the World: Locally Made, Globally Inspiring*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2009.

Shalem, Avinoam. “What Do We Mean When We Say ‘Islamic Art’? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam.” *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1-18.

———. “Über die Notwendigkeit, Zeitgenössisch zu Sein: Die Islamische Kunst im Schatten der Europäischen Kunstgeschite.” In *Orient - Orientalistik - Orientalismus: Geschichte und Aktualität einer Debatte*, edited by Burkhard Schnepel, Gunnar Brands, and Hanne Schönig, 245-255. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2011.

Shapira, Elana. *Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin de Siècle Vienna*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2016.

———. “Jewish Identity, Mass Consumption, and Modern Design.” In *Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, edited by Gideon Reuveni and Nils H. Roemer, 61-90. Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2010.

Shaw, Diane. *City Building on the Eastern Frontier: Sorting the New Nineteenth-Century City*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Shaw, Wendy M.K. “Islamic Art in Islamic Lands: Museums and Architectural Revivalism.” In *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2017.

Siegel, Bjorn. “The Temple in Leopoldstadt and its Function in Habsburg Vienna: The Role of History Fashioning Jewish Modernity.” *Austrian Studies* 24, Jews, Jewish Difference and Austrian Culture. Literature and Historical Perspectives (2016).

Sloboda, Stacey. “The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design.” *Journal of Design History* 21 no. 3 (2008).

Snodin, Michael. *The V&A Book of Western Ornament*. London: V&A Publications, 2006.

Snodin, Michael, and Maurice Howard. *Ornament: A Social History Since 1450*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Solomon, J. Solomon. “Art and Judaism.” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13, no. 4 (1901): 553-566.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. “A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and His Times.” *October* 18 (1981): 90-107.

Sorkin, David J. *Jewish Emancipation: A History across Five Centuries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Sperber, Jonathan. *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Stevens, Michael. “Spanish Orientalism: Washington Irving and the Romance of the Moors.” In *Washington Irving and Islam: Critical Essays*, edited by Zubeda Jalalzai, 1-12. New York: Lexington Books, 2018.

Stolzman, Henry, Tami Hausman, and Daniel Stolzman. *Synagogue Architecture in America: Faith, Spirit and Identity*. Mulgrave, Australia: Images Publishing Group, 2004.

Sutcliffe, Adam. “Review of *The Origins of Jewish Secularization in Eighteenth-Century Europe.*” *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 10, no. 2. (2011): 307-310.

Sweetman, John. *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

“Synagoge Für Die Polinisch-Israelitische Gemeinde in Wien.” *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1894): 70-71.

Tabbaa, Yasser. *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

Tachau, William G. “The Architecture of the Synagogue.” *The American Jewish Yearbook* 28 (1926): 155-192.

Teige, Karel. *Modern Architecture in Czechoslovakia and Other Writings*. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2000.

Thies, Harmen H. “Das architektonische Konzept der neuzeitlich-modernen Synagoge." In *Judentum zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, eds. Gerd Biegel and Michael Graetz, 7-29 (26-28). Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2002.

Thomas, Abraham. “Owen Jones and the Islamic World.” In *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives,* edited by Gerald MacLean, 143-163 Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.

Trafton, Scott. *Egypt Land: Race and Nineteenth-Century American Egyptomania*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Trempler, Jörg. “Kunst und Wissenschaft: Franz Kuglers Promotion und Habilitation oder Die Zeichnung als Prüfungsgegenstand.” In *Der Mitte Berlins: 200 Jahre Kunstgeschichte an Der Humboldt-Universität*, edited by Horst Bredekamp and Adam S. Labuda, 55-65. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010.

Troelenberg, Eva-Maria. “Drawing Knowledge. (Re-)Constructing History: Pascal Coste in Egypt.” *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 4, no. 2 (2015): 289- 294.

Tromans, Nicholas, ed. *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting*. London: Tate Publishing, 2008.

Tschudi-Madsen, Stephan. *The Art Nouveau Style: A Comprehensive Guide with 264 Illustrations.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002.

Valley, Eli. *The Great Jewish Cities of Central and Eastern Europe: A Travel Guide and Resource Book to Prague, Warsaw, Crakow, and Budapest*. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1999.

Vandi, Loretta, ed. *Ornament and European Modernism: From Art Practice to Art History*. London: Routledge, 2018.

Vernoit, Stephen. “The Rise of Islamic Archaeology.” *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 1-10.

Wade, David. *Pattern in Islamic Art*. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1976.

Ward, James. *Historic Ornament: Treatise on Decorative Art and Architectural Ornament*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1897.

Weir, David. *American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era through the Twentieth Century*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

Wertheimer, Jack, ed. *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Whitelaw, Mitchell. "Transmateriality: Presence Aesthetics and the Media Arts." In *Throughout: Art and Culture Emerging with Ubiquitous Computing*, edited by Ulrik Ekman, 223-236. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012.

Wilke, Carsten L. "The Oriental Question and Its Urban Answers: Building the Great Synagogue of Pest, 1854–1859," *Jewish Quarterly Review*: forthcoming; *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

Wilkinson, Tom. *Bricks and Mortals: Ten Great Buildings and the People They Made*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.

Wischnitzer, Rachel. *Architecture of European Synagogues*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964.

———. *Synagogue Architecture in the United States: History and Interpretation*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955.

Wise, Isaac M. *The Israelite*, May 6, 1864. Cincinnati: Ohio: Chas. F. Schmidt & Co, Wise Temple Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

———. *The Israelite*, September 28, 1866. Cincinnati: Ohio: Chas. F. Schmidt & Co, Wise Temple Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Woköck, Ursula. *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945.* London: Routledge, 2009.

Yaniv, Bracha. "The Hidden Message of the Hares in the Talons of the Eagle." *Association for Jewish Studies* 36, no. 2 (2012): 281-294.

———. ed. *Timorah: Articles on Jewish Art*. Ramat Gan: Department of Jewish Art, Bar-Ilan University, 2006. [Hebrew].

Yasuko, Suga. "Designing the Morality of Consumption: "Chamber of Horrors" at the Museum of Ornamental Art, 1852-53," *Design Issues* 20, no. 4 (Autumn, 2004): 43-56.